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SNAITH.

J. Weld del.

VIEW of the ROCK BRIDGE.

Published Dec.r 5th 1790, by I. Stockdale Piccadilly.

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

AND THE

PROVINCES OF

UPPER AND LOWER CANADA,

DURING

THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797.

By ISAAC WELD, Junior.

1774-
1856

ILLUSTRATED AND EMBELLISHED WITH SIXTEEN PLATES.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

AT a period when war was ſpreading deſolation over the faireſt parts of Europe, when anarchy ſeemed to be extending its frightful progreſs from nation to nation, and when the ſtorms that were gathering over his native country * in particular, rendered it impoſſible to ſay how ſoon any one of its inhabitants might be forced to ſeek for refuge in a foreign land; the Author of the following pages was induced to croſs the Atlantic, for the purpoſe of examining with his own eyes into the truth of the various accounts which had been given of the flouriſhing and happy condition of the United States of America, and of aſcertaining whether, in caſe of future emergency, any part of thoſe territories might be looked forward to, as an eligible and agreeable place of abode. Arrived in America, he travelled pretty generally through the ſtates of Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, New Jerſey, and New

* Ireland.

York; he afterwards paſſed into the Canadas, deſirous of obtaining equal information as to the ſtate of thoſe provinces, and of determining from his own immediate obſervations, how far the preſent condition of the inhabitants of the Britiſh dominions in America might be inferior, or otherwiſe, to that of the people of the States, who had now indeed thrown off the yoke, but were formerly common members of the ſame extenſive empire.

When abroad, he had not the moſt diſtant intention of publiſhing his travels; but finding on his return home, that much of the matter contained in the following letters was quite new to his friends, and being induced to think that it might prove equally new, and not wholly unacceptable to the Public, he came to the reſolution of committing them to print: accordingly the preſent volume is now offered to the world, in an humble hope, that if not entertaining to all readers, it will at leaſt be ſo to ſome, as well as uſeful to future travellers.

If it ſhall appear to any one, that he has ſpoken with too much aſperity of American men and American manners, the Author begs that ſuch language may not be aſcribed to haſty

haſty prejudice, and a blind partiality for every thing that is European. He croſſed the Atlantic ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the people and the country, which he was about to viſit; and if he returned with ſentiments of a different tendency, they reſulted ſolely from a cool and diſpaſſionate obſervation of what chance preſented to his view when abroad.

An enthuſiaſtic admirer of the beauties of nature, the ſcenery of the countries through which he paſſed did not fail to attract a great part of his attention; and interſperſed through the book will be found views of what he thought would be moſt intereſting to his readers: they are what he himſelf ſketched upon the ſpot, that of Mount Vernon, the Seat of General Waſhington, indeed, excepted, for which he is indebted to an ingenious friend that he met in America, and the View of Bethlehem. He has many more views in his poſſeſſion; but he thought it better to furniſh his Publiſher with a few only, in hopes that the engraving from them would be well executed, rather than with a great many, which, had they been given, muſt either have been in a ſtyle unworthy of the public eye, or elſe have ſwelled the price of the volume beyond the reach of

many

many that may now read it. Of the reſemblance which theſe views bear to their reſpective archetypes, thoſe alone can be judges who have been ſpectators of the original ſcenes. With regard to the Cataract of Niagara, however, it muſt be obſerved, that in views on ſo ſmall a ſcale no one muſt expect to find a lively repreſentation of its wonderful and terrific vaſtneſs, even were they executed by artiſts of far ſuperior merit; the inſerting of the three in the preſent work is done merely in the hope that they may help, together with the ground plan of the precipice, if it may be ſo called, to give a general idea of the poſition and appearance of that ſtupendous Cataract. Thoſe who are deſirous of becoming more intimately acquainted with it, will ſoon be gratified, at leaſt ſo he has been given to underſtand by the artiſt in whoſe hands they at preſent are, with a ſet of views from the maſterly pencil of Captain Fiſher, of the Royal Britiſh Artillery, which are allowed by all thoſe who have viſited the Falls of Niagara, to convey a more perfect idea of that wonderful natural curioſity, than any paintings or engravings that are extant.

FINALLY, before the Reader proceeds to the peruſal of the enſuing pages, the Author will juſt beg leave to apprize him,

that they are the production of a very youthful pen, unaccuſtomed to write a great deal, far leſs to write for the preſs. It is now for the firſt time that one of its productions is ventured to be laid before the public eye. As a firſt attempt, therefore, it is humbly hoped that the preſent work may meet with a generous indulgence, and not be too ſeverely criticiſed on account of its numerous imperfections.

Dublin,
20th December 1798.

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Longitude East from Philadelphia 5

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE STATES OF

NORTH AMERICA.

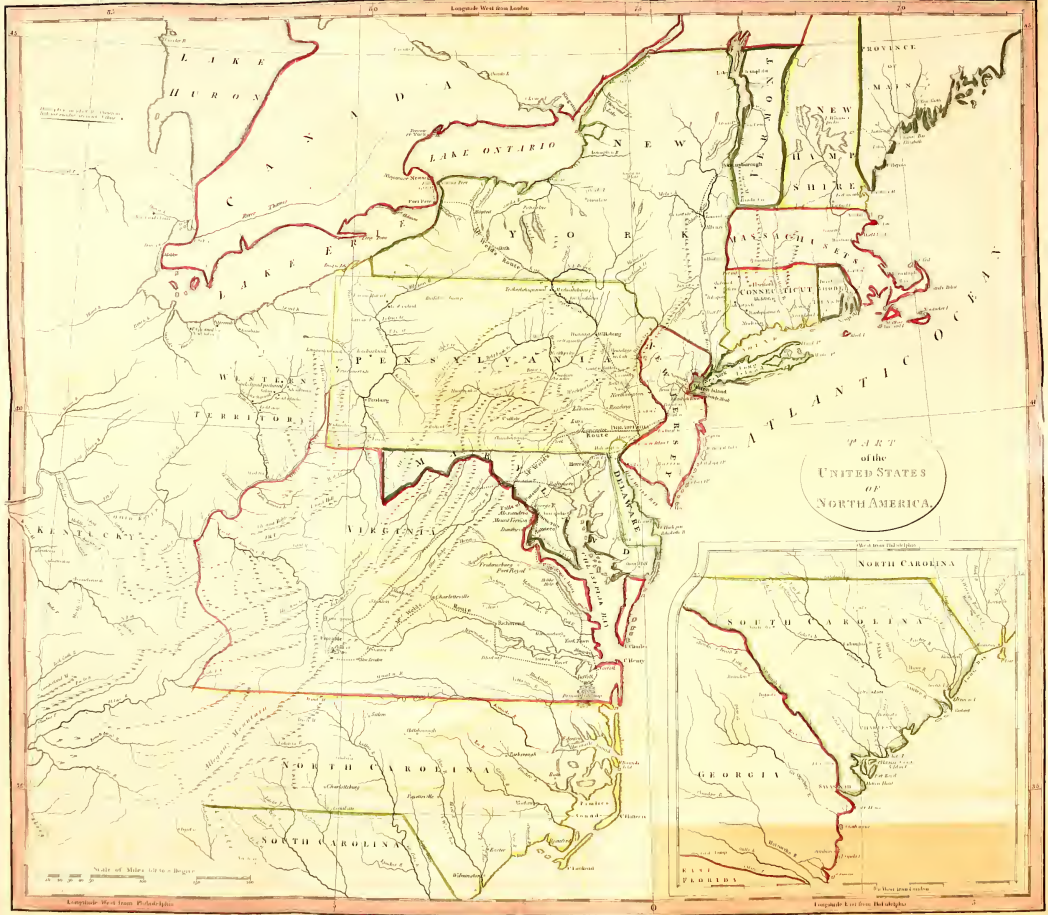
LETTER I.

Arrival on the Coaſt of America.—Trees the firſt Object viſible.—Deſcription of the Bay and River of Delaware.—Paſſengers bound for Philadelphia not ſuffered to land till examined by the Health Officers.—Arrival at Philadelphia.—Poor Appearance of the City from the Water.—Plan of the City.—Wharfs.—Public and private Buildings.—Some Account of the Hoſpital, and of the Gaol.

MY DEAR SIR, Philadelphia, November, 1795.

OUR paſſage acroſs the Atlantic was diſagreeable in the extreme. The weather for the moſt part was bad, and calms and heavy adverſe gales ſo frequently retarded our progreſs to the weſtward, that it was not until the fifty-ninth day from that on which we left Ireland, that we diſcovered the American coaſt. I ſhall not attempt to deſcribe the joy which the ſight of land, a ſight that at once relieved the eye from the unintereſting and weariſome view of ſky and water, and that afforded to each individual a ſpeedy proſpect of delivery from the narrow confines of a ſmall trading veſſel, diffuſed amongſt the paſſengers. You, who have yourſelf made a long voyage, can beſt imagine what it muſt have been.

The firſt objects which meet the eye on approaching the American coaſt, ſouth of New York, are the tops of trees, with which the ſhore is thickly covered to the very edge of the water. Theſe, at a diſtance, have the appearance of ſmall iſlands; but as you draw nearer they are


Longitude West from London
Longitude West from Philadelphia
Longitude East from Philadelphia
LAKE HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
WESTERN TERRITORY
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
EAST FLORIDA
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
PROVINCE OF MAINE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
NEW JERSEY
PART of the UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA
Scale of Miles 100 to a Degree
Published 1st May 1796 by J. Stockdale, Piccadilly

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LETTER I.

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ſeen to unite; and the tall foreſt riſing gradually out of the ocean, at laſt preſents itſelf in all its majeſty to your view. The land which we made was ſituated very near to the bay of Delaware, and before noon we paſſed between the capes Henlopen and May, which guard the entrance of the bay. The capes are only eighteen miles apart, but within them the bay expands to the breadth of thirty miles. It afterwards becomes gradually narrower, until it is loſt in the river of the ſame name, at Bombay Hook, ſeven leagues diſtant from the Atlantic. The river Delaware, at this place, is about ſix miles wide; at Reedy Iſland, twenty miles higher up, it is three miles wide; and at Philadelphia, one hundred and twenty miles from the ſea, one mile wide.

The ſhores of the bay and of the river Delaware, for a very conſiderable diſtance upwards, are low; and they are covered, like the coaſt, with one vaſt foreſt, excepting merely in a few places, where extenſive marſhes intervene. Nothing, however, could be more pleaſing than the views with which we were entertained as we ſailed up to Philadelphia. The trees had not yet quite loſt their foliage, and the rich red and yellow tints which autumn had ſuffuſed over the leaves of the oaks and poplars appeared beautifully blended with the ſombre green of the lofty pines; whilſt the river, winding ſlowly and ſmoothly along under the banks, reflected in its glaſſy ſurface the varied colours of the objects on ſhore, as well as the images of multitudes of veſſels of various ſizes, which, as far as the eye could reach, were ſeen gliding ſilently along with the tide. As you approach towards Philadelphia, the banks of the river become more elevated; and on the left hand ſide, where they are much cleared, they are interſperſed with numberleſs neat farm-houſes, with villages and towns; and are in ſome parts cultivated down to the very edge of the water. The New Jerſey ſhore, on the right hand ſide, remains thickly wooded, even as far as the city.

Veſſels very commonly aſcend to Philadelphia, when the wind is favourable, in twenty-four hours; but unfortunately, as our ſhip entered the river, the wind died away, and ſhe had to depend ſolely upon the tide, which flows at the rate of about three miles only in the hour. Finding that the paſſage up to the city was likely therefore to become te-

dious, I would fain have gone on ſhore far below it; but this the captain would not permit me to do. By the laws of Pennſylvania, enacted in conſequence of the dreadful peſtilence which raged in the capital in the year 1793, the maſter of any veſſel bound for that port is made ſubject to a very heavy fine, if he ſuffers any perſon from on board her, whether mariner or paſſenger, to go on ſhore in any part of the ſtate, before his veſſel is examined by the health officer: and any perſon that goes on ſhore, contrary to the will of the maſter of the veſſel, is liable to be impriſoned for a conſiderable length of time. In caſe the exiſtence of this law ſhould not be known on board a veſſel bound for a port in Pennſylvania, it is the buſineſs of the pilot to furniſh the maſter and the paſſengers on board with copies of it, with which he always comes provided. The health officer, who is a regular bred phyſician, reſides at Mifflin Fort, four miles below the city, where there is a ſmall garriſon kept. A boat is always ſent on ſhore for him from the ſhip. After having been toſſed about on the ocean for nine weeks nearly, nothing could be more tantalizing than to be kept thus cloſe to the ſhore without being permitted to land.

Philadelphia, as you approach by the river, is not ſeen farther off than three miles, a point of land covered with trees concealing it from the view. On weathering this point it ſuddenly opens upon you, and at that diſtance it looks extremely well; but on a nearer approach, the city makes a poor appearance, as nothing is viſible from the water but confuſed heaps of wooden ſtorehouſes, crowded upon each other, the chief of which are built upon platforms of artificial ground, and wharfs which project a conſiderable way into the river. The wharfs are of a rectangular form, and built of wood; they jut out in every direction, and are well adapted for the accommodation of ſhipping, the largeſt merchant veſſels being able to lie cloſe alongſide them. Behind theſe wharfs, and parallel to the river, runs Water-ſtreet. This is the firſt ſtreet which you uſually enter after landing, and it does not ſerve to give a ſtranger a very favourable opinion either of the neatneſs or commodiouſneſs of the public ways of Philadelphia. It is no more than thirty feet wide; and immediately behind the houſes, which ſtand on the ſide fartheſt from the

water, a high bank, ſuppoſed to be the old bank of the river, riſes, which renders the air very confined. Added to this, ſuch ſtenches at times prevail in it, owing in part to the quantity of filth and dirt that is ſuffered to remain on the pavement, and in part to what is depoſited in waſte houſes, of which there are ſeveral in the ſtreet, that it is really dreadful to paſs through it. It was here that the malignant yellow fever broke out in the year 1793, which made ſuch terrible ravages; and in the ſummer ſeaſon, in general, the ſtreet is found extremely unhealthy. That the inhabitants, after ſuffering ſo much from the ſickneſs that originated in it, ſhould remain thus inattentive to the cleanlineſs of Water-ſtreet is truly ſurpriſing; more eſpecially ſo, when it is conſidered, that the ſtreets in the other parts of the town are as much diſtinguiſhed for the neatneſs that prevails throughout them, as this one is for its dirty condition.

On the level plot of ground on the top of the bank which riſes behind Water-ſtreet, the city of Philadelphia was originally laid out, and it was intended by the founder that no houſes ſhould have been erected at the bottom of it; however, as there was no poſitive law to this effect, the convenience of the ſituation ſoon tempted numbers to build there, and they are now encroaching, annually, on the river, by throwing wharfs farther out into the ſtream. In another reſpect alſo the original plan of the city was not adhered to. The ground allotted for it was in the form of an oblong ſquare, two miles in length, reaching from the river Schuylkill to the Delaware, and one mile in breadth. Purſuant to this ſcheme, the houſes were begun on the Delaware ſide; but inſtead of having been carried on towards the Schuylkill, the current of building has kept entirely on one ſide. The houſes extend for two miles nearly along the Delaware, but, on an average, not more than half a mile towards the Schuylkill: this is to be attributed to the great ſuperiority of the one river over the other. All the houſes built beyond the boundary line of the oblong ſquare are ſaid to be in the "Liberties," as the juriſdiction of the corporation does not extend to that part of the town. Here the ſtreets are very irregularly built, but in the city they all interſect each other at right angles, according to the original plan. The principal

principal ſtreet is one hundred feet wide; the others vary from eighty to fifty. They are all tolerably well paved with pebble ſtones in the middle; and on each ſide, for the convenience of paſſengers, there is a footway paved with red brick.

The houſes within the limits of the city are for the moſt part built of brick; a few, and a few only, are of wood.

In the old parts of the town they are in general ſmall, heavy, and inconvenient; but amongſt thoſe which have been lately erected, many are to be found that are light, airy, and commodious. In the whole city, however, there are only two or three houſes that particularly attract the attention, on account of their ſize and architecture, and but little beauty is obſervable in the deſigns of any of theſe. The moſt ſpacious and the moſt remarkable one amongſt them ſtands in Cheſnut-ſtreet, but it is not yet quite finiſhed. At preſent it appears a huge maſs of red brick and pale blue marble, which bids defiance to ſimplicity and elegance. This ſuperb manſion, according to report, has already coſt upwards of fifty thouſand guineas, and ſtands as a monument of the increaſing luxury of the city of Philadelphia.

As for the public buildings, they are all heavy taſteleſs piles of red brick, ornamented with the ſame ſort of blue marble as that already mentioned, and which but ill accord together, unleſs indeed we except the new Bank of the United States, and the preſbyterian church in High-ſtreet. The latter building is ornamented with a handſome portico in front, ſupported by ſix pillars in the Corinthian order; but it is ſeen to great diſadvantage on account of the market houſe, which occupies the center of the ſtreet before it. The buildings next to theſe, that are moſt deſerving of notice, are the State Houſe, the Preſident's Houſe, the Hoſpital, the Bettering Houſe, and the Gaol.

The State Houſe is ſituated in Cheſnut-ſtreet; and, conſidering that no more than fifty-three years elapſed from the time the firſt cabin was built on the ſpot marked out for the city, until it was erected, the architecture calls forth both our ſurpriſe and admiration. The State Houſe is appropriated to the uſe of the legiſlative bodies of the ſtate. Attached to this edifice are the congreſs and the city-halls. In the former, the

congreſs

congreſs of the United States meets to tranſact buſineſs. The room allotted to the repreſentatives of the lower houſe is about ſixty feet in length, and fitted up in the plaineſt manner. At one end of it is a gallery, open to every perſon that chuſes to enter it; the ſtair-caſe leading to which runs directly from the public ſtreet. The ſenate chamber is in the ſtory above this, and it is furniſhed and fitted up in a much ſuperior ſtyle to that of the lower houſe. In the city hall the courts of juſtice are held, the ſupreme court of the United States, as well as that of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, and thoſe of the city.

The preſident's houſe, as it is called, was erected for the reſidence of the preſident, before the removal of the ſeat of the federal government from Philadelphia was agitated. The original plan of this building was drawn by a private gentleman, reſident in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and was poſſeſſed, it is ſaid, of no ſmall ſhare of merit; but the committee of citizens, that was appointed to take the plan into conſideration, and to direct the building, conceiving that it could be improved upon, reverſed the poſitions of the upper and lower ſtories, placing the latter at top, ſo that the pilaſters, with which it is ornamented, appear ſuſpended in the air. The committee alſo contrived, that the windows of the principal apartments, inſtead of opening into a ſpacious area in front of the houſe, as was deſigned at firſt, ſhould face towards the confined back yards of the adjoining houſes. This building is not yet finiſhed, and as the removal of the ſeat of government to the federal city of Waſhington is ſo ſhortly to take place, it is moſt probable that it will never be occupied by the preſident. To what purpoſe it will be now applied is yet undetermined. Some imagine, that it will be converted into a city hotel; others, that it will be deſtined for the reſidence of the governor of the ſtate. For the latter purpoſe, it would be unfit in the extreme, the ſalary of the governor being ſo inconſiderable, that it would not enable him to keep up an eſtabliſhment ſuitable to a dwelling of one-fourth part the ſize of it.

The hoſpital, for its airineſs, for its convenient accommodation for the ſick and infirm, and for the neatneſs exhibited throughout every part of it, cannot be ſurpaſſed by any inſtitution of the kind in the world. The plan of the building is in the form of the letter H. At preſent but one

wing

wing and a part of the center are finiſhed; but the reſt of the building is in a ſtate of forwardneſs. It is two ſtories high, and underneath the whole are cells for lunatics. Perſons labouring under any diſorder of body or mind are received into this hoſpital, excepting ſuch as have diſeaſes that are contagious, and of a malignant nature; ſuch patients, however, have the advice of the attending phyſicians gratis, and are ſupplied with medicine from the hoſpital diſpenſary.

The productive ſtock of this hoſpital, in the year 1793, was eſtimated £.17,065 currency; beſides which there are eſtates belonging to it that as yet produce nothing. The ſame year, the legiſlature granted £.10,000 for enlarging the building, and adding thereto a Lying-in and Foundling hoſpital. The annual private donations are very conſiderable. Thoſe that contribute a certain ſum have the power of electing the directors, who are twelve in number, and choſen yearly. The directors appoint ſix of the moſt ſkilful ſurgeons and phyſicians in the city to attend; there is alſo a ſurgeon and apothecary reſident in the houſe. From the year 1756, when it was built, to the year 1793 incluſive, nearly 9,000 patients were admitted into this hoſpital, upwards of 6,000 of whom were relieved or cured. The hoſpital ſtands within the limits of the city, but it is more than a quarter of a mile removed from any of the other buildings. There are ſpacious walks within the incloſure for ſuch of the patients as are in a ſtate of convaleſcence.

The Bettering Houſe, which is under the care of the overſeers of the poor, ſtands in the ſame neighbourhood, ſomewhat farther removed from the houſes of the city. It is a ſpacious building of brick, with extenſive walks and gardens. The poor of the city and neighbourhood are here furniſhed with employment, and comfortably lodged and dieted. During the ſeverity of the winter ſeaſon, many aged and reduced perſons ſeek refuge in this place, and leave it again on the return of ſpring. Whilſt they ſtay there, they are under very little reſtraint, and go in and out when they pleaſe; they muſt, however, behave orderly. This inſtitution is ſupported by a tax on the town.

The gaol is a ſpacious building of common ſtone, one hundred feet in front. It is fitted up with ſolitary cells, on the new plan, and the apartments

ments are all arched, to prevent the communication of fire. Behind the building are extenſive yards, which are ſecured by lofty walls. This gaol is better regulated, perhaps, than any other on the face of the globe. By the new penal laws of Pennſylvania, lately enacted, no crime is puniſhable with death, excepting murder of the firſt degree, by which is meant, murder that is perpetrated by wilful premeditated intention, or in attempts to commit rape, robbery, or the like. Every other offence, according to its enormity, is puniſhed by ſolitary impriſonment of a determined duration. Objections may be made to this mode of puniſhment, as not being ſufficiently ſevere on the individual to atone for an atrocious crime; nor capable, becauſe not inflicted in public, of deterring evil-minded perſons in the community from the commiſſion of offences which incur the rigour of the law; but on a cloſe examination, it will be found to be very ſevere; and as far as an opinion can be formed from the trial that has been hitherto made by the ſtate of Pennſylvania, it ſeems better calculated to reſtrain the exceſſes of the people than any other. If any public puniſhment could ſtrike terror into the lawleſs part of the multitude, it is as likely that the infliction of death would do it as any whatſoever; but death is diveſted of many of his terrors, after being often preſented to our view; ſo that we find in countries, for inſtance in England, where it occurs often as puniſhment, the ſalutary effects that might be expected from it are in a great meaſure loſt. The unfortunate wretch, who is doomed to forfeit his life in expiation of the crimes he has committed, in numberleſs inſtances, looks forward with apparent unconcern to the moment in which he is to be launched into eternity; his companions around him only condole with him, becauſe his career of iniquity has ſo ſuddenly been impeded by the courſe of juſtice: or, if he is not too much hardened in the paths of vice, but falls a prey to remorſe, and ſees all the horrors of his impending fate, they endeavour to rally his broken ſpirits by the conſoling remembrance, that the pangs he has to endure are but the pangs of a moment, which they illuſtrate by the ſpeedy exit of one whoſe death he was perhaps himſelf witneſs to but a few weeks before. A month does not paſs over in England without repeated executions; and there

there is ſcarcely a vagabond to be met with in the country, who has not ſeen a fellow creature ſuſpended from the gallows. We all know what little good effect ſuch ſpectacles produce. But immured in darkneſs and ſolitude, the priſoner ſuffers pangs worſe than death a hundred times in the day: he is left to his own bitter reflections; there is no one thing to divert his attention, and he endeavours in vain to eſcape from the horrors which continually haunt his imagination. In ſuch a ſituation the moſt hardened offender is ſoon reduced to a ſtate of repentance.

But puniſhment by impriſonment, according to the laws of Pennſylvania, is impoſed, not only as an expiation of paſt offences, and an example to the guilty part of ſociety, but for another purpoſe, regarded by few penal codes in the world, the reform of the criminal. The regulations of the gaol, are calculated to promote this effect as ſoon as poſſible, ſo that the building, indeed, deſerves the name of a penitentiary houſe more than that of a gaol. As ſoon as a criminal is committed to the priſon he is made to waſh; his hair is ſhorn, and if not decently clothed, he is furniſhed with clean apparel; then he is thrown into a ſolitary cell, about nine feet long and four wide, where he remains debarred from the ſight of every living being excepting his gaoler, whoſe duty it is to attend to the bare neceſſities of his nature, but who is forbidden, on any account, to ſpeak to him without there is abſolute occaſion. If a priſoner is at all refractory, or if the offence for which he is impriſoned is of a very atrocious nature, he is then confined in a cell ſecluded even from the light of heaven. This is the worſt that can be inflicted upon him.

The gaol is inſpected twice every week by twelve perſons appointed for that purpoſe, who are choſen annually from amongſt the citizens of Philadelphia. Nor is it a difficult matter to procure theſe men, who readily and voluntarily take it upon them to go through the troubleſome functions of the office without any fee or emolument whatever. They divide themſelves into committees; each of theſe takes it in turn, for a ſtated period, to viſit every part of the priſon; and a report is made to the inſpectors at large, who meet together at times regularly appointed.

From the report of the committee an opinion is formed by the inſpectors, who, with the conſent of the judges, regulate the treatment of each individual priſoner during his confinement. This is varied according to his crime, and according to his ſubſequent repentance. Solitary confinement in a dark cell is looked upon as the ſevereſt uſage; next, ſolitary confinement in a cell with the admiſſion of light; next, confinement in a cell where the priſoner is allowed to do ſome ſort of work; laſtly, labour in company with others. The priſoners are obliged to bathe twice every week, proper conveniencies for that purpoſe being provided within the walls of the priſon, and alſo to change their linen, with which they are regularly provided. Thoſe in ſolitary confinement are kept upon bread and water; but thoſe who labour are allowed broth, porridge, puddings, and the like: meat is diſpenſed only in ſmall quantities, twice in the week. Their drink is water; on no pretence is any other beverage ſuffered to be brought into the priſon. This diet is found, by experience, to afford the priſoners ſtrength ſufficient to perform the labour that is impoſed upon them; whereas a more generous one would only ſerve to render their minds leſs humble and ſubmiſſive. Thoſe who labour, are employed in the particular trade to which they have been accuſtomed, provided it can be carried on in the priſon; if not acquainted with any, ſomething is ſoon found that they can do. One room is ſet apart for ſhoemakers, another for taylors, a third for carpenters, and ſo on; and in the yards are ſtone-cutters, ſmiths, nailers, &c. &c.

Excepting the cells, which are at a remote part of the building, the priſon has the appearance of a large manufactory. Good order and decency prevail throughout, and the eye of a ſpectator is never aſſailed by the ſight of ſuch ghaſtly and ſqualid figures as are continually to be met with in our priſons; ſo far, alſo, is a viſitor from being inſulted, that he is ſcarcely noticed as he paſſes through the different wards. The priſoners are forbidden to ſpeak to each other without there is neceſſity; they are alſo forbidden to laugh, or to ſing, or to make the ſmalleſt diſturbance. An overſeer attends continually to ſee that every one performs his work diligently; and in caſe of the ſmalleſt reſiſtance to any of the regulations,

regulations, the offender is immediately caſt into a ſolitary cell, to ſubſiſt on bread and water till he returns to a proper ſenſe of his behaviour; but the dread all thoſe have of this treatment, who have once experienced it, is ſuch, that it is ſeldom found neceſſary to repeat it. The women are kept totally apart from the men, and are employed in a manner ſuitable to their ſex. The labourers all eat together in one large apartment; and regularly, every Sunday, there is divine ſervice, at which all attend. It is the duty of the chaplain to converſe at times with the priſoners, and endeavour to reform their minds and principles. The inſpectors, when they viſit the priſon, alſo do the ſame; ſo that when a priſoner is liberated, he goes out, as it were, a new man; he has been habituated to employment, and has received good inſtructions. The greateſt care is alſo taken to find him employment the moment he quits the place of his confinement. According to the regulations, no perſon is allowed to viſit the priſon without permiſſion of the inſpectors. The greateſt care is alſo taken to preſerve the health of the priſoners, and for thoſe who are ſick there are proper apartments and good advice provided. The longeſt period of confinement is for a rape, which is not to be leſs than ten years, but not to exceed twenty-one. For high treaſon, the length of confinement is not to be leſs than ſix nor more than twelve years. There are priſons in every county throughout Pennſylvania, but none as yet are eſtabliſhed on the ſame plan as that which has been deſcribed. Criminals are frequently ſent from other parts of the ſtate to receive puniſhment in the priſon of Philadelphia.

So well is this gaol conducted, that inſtead of being an expenſe, it now annually produces a conſiderable revenue to the ſtate.

LETTER II.

Population of Philadelphia.—Some Account of the Inhabitants, their Character and Manners—Private Amuſements.—Americans loſe their Teeth prematurely.—Theatrical Amuſements only permitted of late.—Quakers.—Preſident's Levee and Drawing Room.—Places of public Worſhip.—Carriages, what ſort of, uſed in Philadelphia.—Taverns, how conducted in America.—Difficulty of procuring Servants.—Character of the lower Claſſes of People in America.

MY DEAR SIR, Philadelphia, November.

PHILADELPHIA, according to the cenſus taken in the Year 1790, contained 42,000 people. From the natural increaſe, however, of population, and the influx of ſtrangers, the number is ſuppoſed now to be near 50,000, notwithſtanding the ravages of the yellow fever in 1793, which ſwept off 4,000 people. The inhabitants conſiſt of Engliſh, Iriſh, Scotch, Germans, French, and of American born citizens, deſcended from people of theſe different nations, who are of courſe by far the moſt numerous claſs. The inhabitants are for the moſt part engaged in ſome ſort of buſineſs; a few, and a few only, live without any oſtenſible profeſſions, on the fortunes which they themſelves have raiſed; but theſe men are not idle or inattentive to the increaſe of their property, being ever on the watch to profit by the ſale of lands, which they have purchaſed, and to buy more on advantageous terms. It would be a difficult matter to find a man of any property in the country, who is not concerned in the buying or ſelling of land, which may be conſidered in America as an article of trade.

In a large city, like Philadelphia, where people are aſſembled together from ſo many different quarters, there cannot fail to be a great diverſity in the manners of the inhabitants. It is a remark, however, very generally made, not only by foreigners, but alſo by perſons from other parts

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of the United States, that the Philadelphians are extremely deficient in hoſpitality and politeneſs towards ſtrangers. Amongſt the uppermoſt circles in Philadelphia, pride, haughtineſs, and oſtentation are conſpicuous; and it ſeems as if nothing could make them happier than that an order of nobility ſhould be eſtabliſhed, by which they might be exalted above their fellow citizens, as much as they are in their own conceit. In the manners of the people in general there is a coldneſs and reſerve, as if they were ſuſpicious of ſome deſigns againſt them, which chills to the very heart thoſe who come to viſit them. In their private ſocieties a *triſteſſe* is apparent, near which mirth and gaiety can never approach. It is no unuſual thing, in the genteeleſt houſes, to ſee a large party of from twenty to thirty perſons aſſembled, and ſeated round a room, without partaking of any other amuſement than what ariſes from the converſation, moſt frequently in whiſpers, that paſſes between the two perſons who are ſeated next to each other. The party meets between ſix and ſeven in the evening; tea is ſerved with much form; and at ten, by which time moſt of the company are wearied with having remained ſo long ſtationary, they return to their own homes. Still, however, they are not ſtrangers to muſic, cards, or dancing; their knowledge of muſic, indeed, is at a very low ebb; but in dancing, which appears to be their moſt favourite amuſement, they certainly excel.

The women, in general, whilſt young, are very pretty, but by the time they become mothers of a little family they loſe all their beauty, their complexions fade away, their teeth begin to decay, and they hardly appear like the ſame creatures. In a few inſtances only it would be poſſible to find a fine woman of the age of forty, who has had a large family. The ſudden decay of the teeth is a circumſtance which has engaged the attention of the faculty; both men and women, American born, loſing them very generally at an early age. Some aſcribe it to the great and ſudden changes in the weather, from heat to cold; but negroes, who are expoſed to the ſame tranſition of climate, are diſtinguiſhed for the whiteneſs and beauty of their teeth; and the Indians alſo, who are more expoſed than either, preſerve their teeth in good order. Others attribute it to the immoderate uſe of confectionary. Of confectionary,

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the Americans in the towns certainly make an inordinate uſe; but in the country, where the people have not an opportunity of getting ſuch things, the men, but more generally the women, alſo loſe their teeth very prematurely. Moſt probably it is owing to the very general uſe they make of ſalted proviſions. In the country parts of America in particular, the people live upon ſalted pork and ſalted fiſh nearly the whole year round.

It is only within a few years paſt, ſince 1779, that any public amuſements have been ſuffered in this city; the old corporation, which conſiſted moſtly of the Quakers, and not of the moſt liberal minded people in the city, having always oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of any place for the purpoſe. Now, however, there are two theatres and an amphitheatre. Little or no uſe is made of the old theatre, which is of wood, and a very indifferent building. The new one is built of brick, and neatly fitted up within; but it is hardly large enough for the town. A ſhocking cuſtom obtains here, of ſmoking tobacco in the houſe, which at times is carried to ſuch an exceſs, that thoſe to whom it is diſagreeable are under the neceſſity of going away. To the people in the pit, wine and porter is brought between the acts, preciſely as if they were in a tavern. The actors are procured, with a very few exceptions, from Great Britain and Ireland; none of them are very eminent performers, but they are equal to what are uſually met with in the country towns of England. The amphitheatre is built of wood; equeſtrian and other exerciſes are performed there, ſimilar to thoſe at Aſtley's. Dancing aſſemblies are held regularly every fortnight through the winter, and occaſionally there are public concerts.

During ſummer, the people that can make it convenient retire to country houſes in the neighbourhood of the town, and all public and private amuſements ceaſe; winter is the ſeaſon for them, the Congreſs being then aſſembled, and trade not being ſo cloſely attended to, as the navigation of the river is then commonly impeded by ice.

The preſident finds it neceſſary, in general, to come to Philadelphia preparatory to the meeting of congreſs, and reſides there during the whole of the ſeſſion. Once in the week, during his ſtay in the city, he

has levees, between the hours of three and four in the afternoon. At theſe he always appears himſelf in a court dreſs, and it is expected that the foreign miniſters ſhould always attend in the ſame ſtyle; this they conſtantly do, excepting the French miniſter, who makes a point of going in diſhabille, not to ſay worſe of it. Other perſons are at liberty to go as they think proper. Mrs. Waſhington, alſo, has a drawing room once every week. On this occaſion the ladies are ſeated in great form round the apartment, and tea, coffee, &c. ſerved *.

Philadelphia is the grand reſidence of the Quakers in America, but their number does not bear the ſame proportion now to that of the other citizens which it did formerly. At preſent they form about one fourth only of the inhabitants. This does not ariſe from any diminution of the number of Quakers, on the contrary they have conſiderably increaſed, but from the great influx into the city of perſons of a different perſuaſion. Belonging to the Quakers there are five places for public worſhip; to the Preſbyterians and Seceders ſix; to the Engliſh Epiſcopalians three; to German Lutherans two; to the Roman Catholics four; and one reſpectively to the Swediſh Lutherans, Moravians, Baptiſts, Univerſal Baptiſts, Methodiſts, and Jews. On a Sunday every citizen appears well dreſſed; the lower claſſes of the people in particular are remarkably well clothed. This is a great day alſo for little excurſions into the country.

The carriages made uſe of in Philadelphia conſiſt of coaches, chariots, chaiſes, coachees, and light waggons, the greater part of which are built in Philadelphia. The equipages of a few individuals are extremely oſtentatious; nor does there appear in any that neatneſs and elegance which might be expected amongſt a ſet of people that are deſirous of imitating the faſhions of England, and that are continually getting models over from that country. The coachee is a carriage peculiar, I believe, to America; the body of it is rather longer than that of a coach,

* Whether the levee is kept up by the preſent preſident, or not, I have not heard. Many objections were made to it by the democratic party during the adminiſtration of General Waſhington, as being inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of a republican government, and deſtructive of that equality which ought to reign amongſt the citizens of every claſs.

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but of the ſame ſhape. In the front it is left quite open down to the bottom, and the driver ſits on a bench under the roof of the carriage. There are two ſeats in it for the paſſengers, who ſit with their faces towards the horſes. The roof is ſupported by ſmall props, which are placed at the corners. On each ſide of the doors, above the pannels, it is quite open, and to guard againſt bad weather there are curtains, which are made to let down from the roof, and faſten to buttons placed for the purpoſe on the outſide. There is alſo a leathern curtain to hang occaſionally between the driver and paſſengers.

The light waggons are on the ſame conſtruction, and are calculated to accommodate from four to twelve people. The only difference between a ſmall waggon and a coachee is, that the latter is better finiſhed, has varniſhed pannels, and doors at the ſide. The former has no doors, but the paſſengers ſcramble in the beſt way they can, over the ſeat of the driver. The waggons are uſed univerſally for ſtage carriages.

The accommodations at the taverns, by which name they call all inns, &c. are very indifferent in Philadelphia, as indeed they are, with a very few exceptions, throughout the country. The mode of conducting them is nearly the ſame every where. The traveller is ſhewn, on arrival, into a room which is common to every perſon in the houſe, and which is generally the one ſet apart for breakfaſt, dinner, and ſupper. All the ſtrangers that happen to be in the houſe ſit down to theſe meals promiſcuouſly, and, excepting in the large towns, the family of the houſe alſo forms a part of the company. It is ſeldom that a private parlour or drawing room can be procured at any of the taverns, even in the towns; and it is always with reluctance that breakfaſt or dinner is ſerved up ſeparately to any individual. If a ſingle bed room can be procured, more ought not to be looked for; but it is not always that even this is to be had, and thoſe who travel through the country muſt often ſubmit to be crammed into rooms where there is ſcarcely ſufficient ſpace to walk between the beds.* Strangers who remain for any

* Having ſtopped one night at Elkton, on my journey to Baltimore in the public carriage, my firſt enquiries from the landlord, on alighting, as there were many paſſengers in the ſtage, were to

any length of time in the large towns moſt uſually go to private boarding houſes, of which great numbers are to be met with. It is always a difficult matter to procure furniſhed lodgings without paying for board.

At all the taverns, both in town and country, but particularly in the latter, the attendance is very bad; indeed, excepting in the ſouthern ſtates, where there are ſuch great numbers of negroes, it is a matter of the utmoſt difficulty to procure domeſtic ſervants of any deſcription. The generality of ſervants that are met with in Philadelphia are emigrant Europeans; they, however, for the moſt part, only remain in ſervice until they can ſave a little money, when they conſtantly quit their maſters, being led to do ſo by that deſire for independence which is ſo natural to the mind of man, and which every perſon in America may enjoy that will be induſtrious. The few that remain ſteady to thoſe who have hired them are retained at moſt exorbitant wages. As for the Americans, none but thoſe of the moſt indifferent characters ever enter into ſervice, which they conſider as ſuitable only to negroes; the negroes again, in Pennſylvania and in the other ſtates where ſteps have been taken for the gradual abolition of ſlavery, are taught by the Quakers to look upon themſelves in every reſpect as equal to their white brethren, and they endeavour to imitate them by being ſaucy. It is the ſame both with males and females. I muſt here obſerve, that amongſt the generality of the lower ſort of people in the United States, and particularly amongſt thoſe of Philadelphia, there is a want of good manners which excites the ſurprize of almoſt every foreigner; I wiſh alſo that it may not be thought that this remark has been made, merely becauſe the ſame deference and the ſame reſpectful attention, which we ſee ſo commonly paid by the lower orders of people in Great Britain and Ireland to thoſe who are in a ſituation ſomewhat ſuperior to themſelves, is not alſo paid in America to perſons in the ſame ſtation; it is the want of common civility I complain of, which it is

to know what accommodation his houſe afforded. He ſeemed much ſurpriſed that any enquiries ſhould be made on ſuch a ſubject, and with much conſequence told me, I need not give myſelf any trouble about the extent of his accommodations, as he had no leſs than *eleven* beds in *one* of his rooms.

always desirable to behold between man and man, let their situations in life be what they may, and which is not contrary to the dictates of nature, or to the spirit of genuine liberty, as it is observable in the behaviour of the wild Indians that wander through the forests of this vast continent, the most free and independent of all human beings. In the United States, however, the lower classes of people will return rude and impertinent answers to questions couched in the most civil terms, and will insult a person that bears the appearance of a gentleman, on purpose to shew how much they consider themselves upon an equality with him. Civility cannot be purchased from them on any terms; they seem to think that it is incompatible with freedom, and that there is no other way of convincing a stranger that he is really in a land of liberty, but by being surly and ill mannered in his presence.

LETTER III.

Journey to Baltimore.—Description of the Country about Philadelphia.—Floating Bridges over the Schuylkill, how constructed.—Mills in Brandywine Creek.—Improvement in the Machinery of Flour Mills in America.—Town of Wilmington.—Log Houses.—Bad Roads.—Fine Prospects.—How relished by Americans.—Taverns.—Susquehannah River.—Town of Baltimore.—Plan of the Town.—Harbour.—Public and private Buildings.—Inhabitants.—Country between Baltimore and Washington.—Execrable Roads.

MY DEAR SIR, Washington, November

ON the 16th of November I left Philadelphia for Baltimore. The only mode of conveyance which offers for a traveller, who is not provided with his own horses or carriage, is the public stage waggon; it is possible, indeed, to procure a private carriage at Philadelphia to go on to Baltimore, for which a great price is always demanded; but there

there is no ſuch thing as hiring a carriage or horſes from ſtage to ſtage. The country about Philadelphia is well cultivated, and it abounds with neat country houſes; but it has a bare appearance, being almoſt totally ſtripped of the trees, which have been cut down without mercy for firing, and to make way for the plough; neither are there any hedges, an idea prevailing that they impoveriſh the land wherever they are planted. The fences are all of the common poſt and rail, or of the angular kind. Theſe laſt are made of rails about eight or nine feet long, roughly ſplit out of trees, and placed horizontally above one another, as the bars of a gate; but each tier of rails, or gate as it were, inſtead of being on a ſtraight line with the one next to it, is put in a different direction, ſo as to form an angle ſufficient to permit the ends of the rails of one tier to reſt ſteadily on thoſe of the next. As theſe fences, from their ſerpentine courſe, occupy at leaſt ſix times as much ground as a common poſt and rail fence, and require alſo a great deal more wood, they are moſtly laid aſide whenever land and timber become objects of importance, as they ſoon do in the neighbourhood of large towns.

The road to Baltimore is over the loweſt of three floating bridges, which have been thrown acroſs the river Schuylkill, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. The view on paſſing this river, which is about two hundred and fifty yards wide, is beautiful. The banks on each ſide are high, and for many miles above afford the moſt delightful ſituations for villas. A very elegant one, laid out in the Engliſh taſte, is ſeen on paſſing the river juſt above the bridge. Adjoining to it are public gardens, and a houſe of entertainment, with ſeveral good rooms, to which the citizens of Philadelphia reſort in great numbers during the ſummer ſeaſon.

The floating bridges are formed of large trees, which are placed in the water tranſverſely, and chained together; beams are then laid lengthways upon theſe, and the whole boarded over, to render the way convenient for paſſengers. On each ſide there is a railing. When very heavy carriages go acroſs theſe bridges, they ſink a few inches below the ſurface of the water; but the paſſage is by no means dangerous. They are kept in an even direction acroſs the river, by means of chains and anchors in

different parts, and are alſo ſtrongly ſecured on both ſhores. Over that part of the river where the channel lies, they are ſo contrived that a piece can be removed to allow veſſels to paſs through. Theſe bridges are frequently damaged, and ſometimes entirely carried away, during floods, at the breaking up of winter, eſpecially if there happens to be much ice floating in the river. To guard againſt this, when danger is apprehended and the flood does not come on too rapidly, they unfaſten all the chains by which the bridge is confined in its proper place, and then let the whole float down with the ſtream to a convenient part of the ſhore, where it can be hauled up and ſecured.

The country, after paſſing the Schuylkill, is pleaſingly diverſified with riſing grounds and woods, and appears to be in a good ſtate of cultivation. The firſt town of any note which you come to is Cheſter, fifteen miles from Philadelphia; this town contains about ſixty dwellings, and is remarkable for being the place where the firſt colonian aſſembly ſat. From the neighbourhood of this town there is a very grand view of the river Delaware.

About half a mile before you come to Wilmington is Brandy-wine River, remarkable for its mills, no leſs than thirteen being built almoſt cloſe to each other upon it. The water, juſt above the bridge which is thrown over it, comes tumbling down with great violence over a bed of rocks; and ſeats, at a very trifling expenſe, could be made for three times the number of mills already built. Veſſels carrying 1,000 buſhels of wheat can come cloſe up to them, and by means of machinery their cargoes are received from, or delivered to them in a very expeditious manner. Among the mills, ſome are for flour, ſome for ſawing of wood, and others for ſtone. The improvements which have been made in the machinery of the flour mills in America are very great. The chief of theſe conſiſt in a new application of the ſcrew, and the introduction of what are called elevators, the idea of which was evidently borrowed from the chain pump. The ſcrew is made by ſticking ſmall thin pieces of board, about three inches long and two wide, into a cylinder, ſo as to form the ſpiral line. This ſcrew is placed in a horizontal poſition, and by turning on its axis it forces wheat or flour from one

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end of a trough to the other. For inſtance, in the trough which receives the meal immediately coming from the ſtones, a ſcrew of this kind is placed, by which the meal is forced on, to the diſtance of ſix or eight feet perhaps, into a reſervoir; from thence, without any manual labour, it is conveyed to the very top of the mill by the elevators, which conſiſt of a number of ſmall buckets of the ſize of tea-cups, attached to a long band that goes round a wheel at the top, and another at the bottom of the mill. As the band revolves round the wheels, theſe buckets dip into the reſervoir of wheat or flour below, and take their loads up to the top, where they empty themſelves as they turn round the upper wheel. The elevators are incloſed in ſquare wooden tubes, to prevent them from catching in any thing, and alſo to prevent duſt. By means of theſe two ſimple contrivances no manual labour is required from the moment the wheat is taken to the mill till it is converted into flour, and ready to be packed, during the various proceſſes of ſcreening, grinding, ſifting, &c.

Wilmington is the capital of the ſtate of Delaware, and contains about ſix hundred houſes, which are chiefly of brick. The ſtreets are laid out on a plan ſomewhat ſimilar to that of Philadelphia. There is nothing very intereſting in this town, and the country round about it is flat and inſipid. Elkton, twenty-one miles diſtant from Wilmington, and the firſt town in Maryland, contains about ninety indifferent houſes, which are built without any regularity; it is a dirty diſagreeable place. In this neighbourhood I firſt took notice of log-houſes; thoſe which I had hitherto ſeen having been built either of brick or ſtone, or elſe conſtructed with wooden frames, ſheathed on the outſide with boards. The log-houſes are cheaper than any others in a country where there is abundance of wood, and generally are the firſt that are erected on a new ſettlement in America. The ſides conſiſt of trees juſt ſquared, and placed horizontally one upon the other; the ends of the logs of one ſide reſting alternately on the ends of thoſe of the adjoining ſides, in notches; the interſtices between the logs are ſtopped with clay; and the roof is covered with boards or with ſhingles, which are ſmall pieces of wood in the ſhape of ſlates or tiles, and which are uſed for that purpoſe, with

with a few exceptions, throughout America. Theſe habitations are not very ſightly, but when well built they are warm and comfortable, and laſt for a long time.

A conſiderable quantity of wheat and Indian corn is raiſed in this neighbourhood, to the production of which the ſoil is favourable; but the beſt cultivated parts of the country are not ſeen from the road, which paſſes chiefly over barren and hilly tracts, called "ridges." The reaſon for carrying the road over theſe is, becauſe it is found to laſt longer than if carried over the flat part of the country, where the ſoil is deep, a circumſtance which the people of Maryland always take into conſideration; for after a road is once cut, they never take pains to keep it in good repair. The roads in this ſtate are worſe than in any one in the union; indeed ſo very bad are they, that on going from Elkton to the Suſquehannah ferry, the driver frequently had to call to the paſſengers in the ſtage, to lean out of the carriage firſt at one ſide, then at the other, to prevent it from overſetting in the deep ruts with which the road abounds: "Now, gentlemen, to the right;" upon which the paſſengers all ſtretched their bodies half way out of the carriage to balance it on that ſide: "Now, gentlemen, to the left," and ſo on. This was found abſolutely neceſſary at leaſt a dozen times in half the number of miles. Whenever they attempt to mend theſe roads, it is always by filling the ruts with ſaplings or buſhes, and covering them over with earth. This, however, is done only when there are fields on each ſide of the road. If the road runs contiguous to a wood, then, inſtead of mending it where it is bad, they open a new paſſage through the trees, which they call making a road. It is very common in Maryland to ſee ſix or ſeven different roads branching out from one, which all lead to the ſame place. A ſtranger, before he is acquainted with this circumſtance, is frequently puzzled to know which he ought to take. The dexterity with which the drivers of the ſtages guide their horſes along theſe new roads, which are full of ſtumps of trees, is aſtoniſhing, yet to appearance they are the moſt awkward drivers poſſible; it is more by the different noiſes which they make, than by their reins, that they manage their horſes.

Charleſton ſtands at a few miles diſtance from Elkton; there are about twenty houſes only in it, which are inhabited chiefly by people who carry on a herring fiſhery. Beyond it the country is much diverſified with hill and dale, and the ſoil being but of an indifferent quality, the lands are ſo little cleared, that in many parts the road winds through uninterrupted woods for four or five miles together. The ſcenery in this neighbourhood is extremely intereſting. From the top of the hills you meet with numberleſs bold and extenſive proſpects of the Cheſapeak Bay and of the river Suſquehannah; and ſcarcely do you croſs a valley without beholding in the depths of the wood the waters of ſome little creek or rivulet ruſhing over ledges of rock in a beautiful caſcade. The generality of Americans ſtare with aſtoniſhment at a perſon who can feel any delight at paſſing through ſuch a country as this. To them the ſight of a wheat field or a cabbage garden would convey pleaſure far greater than that of the moſt romantic woodland views. They have an unconquerable averſion to trees; and whenever a ſettlement is made, they cut away all before them without mercy; not one is ſpared; all ſhare the ſame fate, and are involved in the general havoc. It appears ſtrange, that in a country where the rays of the ſun act with ſuch prodigious power, ſome few trees near the habitations ſhould not be ſpared, whoſe foliage might afford a cooling ſhade during the parching heats of ſummer; and I have oftentimes expreſſed my aſtoniſhment that none were ever left for that purpoſe. In anſwer I have generally been told, that they could not be left ſtanding near a houſe without danger. The trees it ſeems in the American foreſts have but a very ſlender hold in the ground, conſidering their immenſe height, ſo that when two or three fully grown are deprived of ſhelter in conſequence of the others which ſtood around them being cut down, they are very apt to be levelled by the firſt ſtorm that chances to blow. This, however, would not be the caſe with trees of a ſmall growth, which might ſafely be ſpared, and which would ſoon afford an agreeable ſhade if the Americans thought proper to leave them ſtanding; but the fact of the matter is, that from the face of the country being entirely overſpread with trees, the eyes of the people become ſatiated with the ſight of them. The ground cannot be

tilled,

tilled, nor can the inhabitants ſupport themſelves, till they are removed; they are looked upon as a nuiſance, and the man that can cut down the largeſt number, and have the fields about his houſe moſt clear of them, is looked upon as the moſt induſtrious citizen, and the one that is making the greateſt improvements * in the country.

Every ten or twelve miles upon this road there are taverns, which are all built of wood, and much in the ſame ſtile, with a porch in front the entire length of the houſe. Few of theſe taverns have anſigns, and they are only to be diſtinguiſhed from the other houſes by the number of handbills paſted up on the walls near the door. They take their name, not from the ſign, but from the perſon who keeps them, as Jones's, Brown's, &c. &c. All of them are kept nearly in the ſame manner. At each houſe there are regular hours for breakfaſt, dinner, and ſupper, and if a traveller arrives ſomewhat before the time appointed for any one of theſe, it is in vain to call for a ſeparate meal for himſelf; he muſt wait patiently till the appointed hour, and then ſit down with the other gueſts that may happen to be in the houſe. Breakfaſts are generally plentifully ſerved; there is tea, coffee, and different ſorts of bread, cold ſalt meat, and, very commonly beſides, beef ſteaks, fried fiſh, &c. &c †. The charge made for breakfaſt is nearly the ſame as that for dinner,

This part of Maryland abounds with iron ore, which is of a quality particularly well adapted for caſting. The ore is found in banks ſo near the ſurface of the earth that there is never occaſion to ſink a ſhaft to get at it. Near Charleſton there is a ſmall foundery for cannon. The cannon are bored by water. As I paſſed by, they were making twenty-four pounders, two of which I was informed they finiſhed every week. The iron is extremely tough; very few of the guns burſt on being proved.

* I have heard of Americans landing on barren parts of the north weſt coaſt of Ireland, and evincing the greateſt ſurpriſe and pleaſure at the beauty and improved ſtate of the country, "ſo "clear of trees!!"

† The landlady always preſides at the head of the table to make the tea, or a female ſervant attends for that purpoſe at breakfaſt and in the evening; and at many taverns in the country the whole of the family ſit down to dinner with the gueſts.

The

The Suſquehannah river is croſſed, on the way to Baltimore, at a ferry five miles above its entrance into the Cheſapeak. The river is here about a mile and quarter wide, and deep enough for any veſſels; the banks are high and thickly wooded, and the ſcenery is grand and pictureſque. A ſmall town called Havre de Grace, which contains about forty houſes, ſtands on this river at the ferry. A petition was preſented to congreſs the laſt year to have it made a port of entry; but at preſent there is very little trade carried on there. A few ſhips are annually built in the neighbourhood. From hence to Baltimore the country is extremely poor; the ſoil is of a yellow gravel mixed with clay, and the roads execrable.

Baltimore is ſuppoſed to contain about ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, and though not the capital of the ſtate, is the largeſt town in Maryland, and the moſt conſiderable place of trade in North America, after Philadelphia and New York. The plan of the town is ſomewhat ſimilar to that of Philadelphia, moſt of the ſtreets croſſing each other at right angles. The main ſtreet, which runs eaſt and weſt nearly, is about eighty feet wide; the others are from forty to ſixty feet. The ſtreets are not all paved, ſo that when it rains heavily they are rendered almoſt impaſſable, the ſoil being a ſtiff yellow clay, which retains the water a long time. On the ſouth ſide of the town is a harbour commonly called the Baſon, which affords about nine feet water, and is large enough to contain two thouſand ſail of merchant veſſels. There are wharfs and ſtores along it, the whole length of the town; but as a particular wind is neceſſary to enable ſhips to get out of this baſon, by far the greater number of thoſe which enter the port of Baltimore ſtop at a harbour which is formed by a neck of land near the mouth of the baſon, called Fell's Point. Here alſo wharfs have been built, alongſide which veſſels of ſix hundred tons burthen can lie with perfect ſafety. Numbers of perſons have been induced to ſettle on this Point, in order to be contiguous to the ſhipping. Upwards of ſeven hundred houſes have already been built there, and regular ſtreets laid out, with a large market place. Theſe houſes, generally ſpeaking, are conſidered as a part of Baltimore, but to all appearance they form a ſeparate town, being upwards of a mile diſtant from the

other part of the town. In the neighbourhood, Fell's Point and Baltimore are ſpoken of as diſtinct and ſeparate places. Fell's Point is chiefly the reſidence of ſeafaring people, and of the younger partners of mercantile houſes, who are ſtationed there to attend to the ſhipping.

The greater number of private houſes in Baltimore are of brick, but many, particularly in the ſkirts of the town, are of wood. In ſome of the new ſtreets a few appear to be well built, but in general the houſes are ſmall, heavy, and inconvenient. As for the public buildings, there are none worthy of being mentioned. The churches and places for public worſhip are ten in number; one reſpectively for Epiſcopalians, Preſbyterians, German Lutherans, German Calviniſts, Reformed Germans, Nicolites or New Quakers, Baptiſts, Roman Catholics, and two for Methodiſts. The Preſbyterian church, which has lately been erected, is the beſt building among them, and indeed the handſomeſt building in town. It is of brick, with a portico in front ſupported by ſix pillars of ſtone.

They have no leſs than three incorporated banks in this town, and the number of notes iſſued from them is ſo great, as almoſt to preclude the circulation of ſpecie. Some of the notes are for as ſmall a ſum as a ſingle dollar, and being much more portable than ſilver, are generally preferred. As for gold, it is very ſcarce; I hardly ever met with it during two months that I remained in Maryland.

Amongſt the inhabitants of Baltimore are to be found Engliſh, Iriſh, Scotch, and French. The Iriſh appear to be moſt numerous; and many of the principal merchants in town are in the number. Since the war, a great many French have arrived both from France and from the Weſt India Iſlands. With a few exceptions the inhabitants are all engaged in trade, which is cloſely attended to. They are moſtly plain people, ſociable however amongſt themſelves, and very friendly and hoſpitable towards ſtrangers. Cards and dancing are favourite amuſements, both in private and at public aſſemblies, which are held every fortnight. There are two theatres here, in which there are performances occaſionally. The oldeſt of them, which ſtands in the road to Fell's Point, is moſt wretched, and appears little better than a heap of looſe boards; for

a long time it lay quite neglected, but has lately been fitted up for a company of French actors, the only one I ever heard of in the country. Baltimore, like Philadelphia, has ſuffered from the ravages of the yellow fever. During the autumn it is generally unhealthy, and thoſe who can afford it retire to country ſeats in the neighbourhood, of which ſome are moſt delightfully ſituated.

From Baltimore to Waſhington, which is forty miles diſtant, the country wears but a poor appearance. The ſoil in ſome parts conſiſts of a yellow clay mixed with gravel; in other parts it is very ſandy. In the neighbourhood of the creeks and between the hills are patches of rich black earth, called bottoms, the trees upon which grow to a large ſize; but where there is gravel they are very ſmall. The roads paſſing over theſe bottoms are worſe than any I ever met with elſewhere. In driving over one of them, near the head waters of a branch of Patuxent river, a few days after a heavy fall of rain, the wheels of a ſulky which I was in ſunk up to the very boxes. For a moment I deſpaired of being able to get out without aſſiſtance, when my horſe, which was very powerful, finding himſelf impeded, threw himſelf upon his haunches, and diſengaging his fore-feet, made a vigorous plunge forwards, which luckily diſengaged both himſelf and the ſulky, and freed me from my embarraſſment. I was afterwards informed that General Waſhington, as he was going to meet congreſs a ſhort time before, was ſtopped in the very ſame place, his carriage ſinking ſo deep in the mud that it was found neceſſary to ſend to a neighbouring houſe for ropes and poles to extricate it. Over ſome of the bottoms, which were abſolutely impaſſable in their natural ſtate, cauſeways have been thrown, which are made with large trees laid ſide by ſide acroſs the road. For a time theſe cauſeways afford a commodious paſſage; but they do not laſt long, as many of the trees ſinking into the ſoft ſoil, and others, expoſed to the continual attrition of waggon wheels in a particular part, breaking aſunder. In this ſtate, full of unſeen obſtacles, it is abſolutely a matter of danger for a perſon unacquainted with the road to attempt to drive a carriage along it. The bridges over the creeks, covered with looſe boards, are as bad as the cauſeways, and totter as a carriage paſſes over. That the legiſ-

lature of Maryland can be ſo inactive, and not take ſome ſteps to repair this, which is one of the principal roads in the ſtate, the great road from north to ſouth, and the high road to the City of Waſhington, is moſt wonderful!

LETTER IV.

Foundation of the City of Waſhington.—Not readily agreed to by different States.—Choice of the Ground left to General Waſhington.—Circumſtances to be conſidered in chuſing the Ground.—The Spot fixed upon central to all the States.—Alſo remarkably advantageouſly ſituated for Trade.—Nature of the Back Country Trade.—Summary View of the principal Trading Towns in the United States.—Their Proſperity ſhewn to depend on the Back Country Trade.—Deſcription of the Patowmac River.—Its Connection with other Rivers pointed out.—Prodigious Extent of the Water Communication from Waſhington City in all Directions.—Country likely to trade immediately with Waſhington.—Situation of Waſhington.—Plan of the City.—Public Buildings.—Some begun, others projected.—Capital Preſident's Houſe.—Hotel.—Stone and other building Materials found in the Neighbourhood.—Private Houſes and Inhabitants at preſent in the City.—Different Opinions reſpecting the future Greatneſs of the City.—Impediments thrown in the Way of its Improvement.—What has given riſe to this.

MY DEAR SIR, Waſhington, November.

THE City of Waſhington, or the Federal City, as it is indiſcriminately called, was laid out in the year 1792, and is expreſsly deſigned for being the metropolis of the United States, and the ſeat of the federal government. In the year 1800 the congreſs is to meet there for the firſt time. As the foundation of this city has attracted the attention

attention of ſo many people in Europe, and as ſuch very different opinions are entertained about it, I ſhall, in the following pages, give you a brief account of its riſe and progreſs.

Shortly after the cloſe of the American war, conſiderable numbers of the Pennſylvanian line, or of the militia, with arms in their hands, ſurrounded the hall in which the congreſs was aſſembled at Philadelphia, and with vehement menaces inſiſted upon immediate appropriations of money being made to diſcharge the large arrears due to them for their paſt ſervices. The members, alarmed at ſuch an outrage, reſolved to quit a ſtate in which they met with inſult inſtead of protection, and quickly adjourned to New York, where the ſeſſion was terminated. A ſhort time afterwards, the propriety was ſtrongly urged in congreſs, of fixing upon ſome place for the meeting of the legiſlature, and for the ſeat of the general government, which ſhould be ſubject to the laws and regulations of the congreſs alone, in order that the members, in future, might not have to depend for their perſonal ſafety, and for their freedom of deliberation, upon the good or bad police of any individual ſtate. This idea of making the place, which ſhould be choſen for the meeting of the legiſlature, independent of the particular ſtate to which it might belong, was further corroborated by the following argument: That as the ſeveral ſtates in the union were in ſome meaſure rivals to each other, although connected together by certain ties, if any one of them was fixed upon for the ſeat of the general government in preference, and thus raiſed to a ſtate of pre-eminence, it might perhaps be the occaſion of great jealouſy amongſt the others. Every perſon was convinced of the expediency of preſerving the union of the ſtates entire; it was apparent, therefore, that the greateſt precautions ought to be taken to remove every ſource of jealouſy from amongſt them, which might tend, though remotely, to produce a ſeparation. In fine, it was abſolutely neceſſary that the ſeat of government ſhould be made permanent, as the removal of the public offices and the archives from place to place could not but be attended with many and very great inconveniences.

However, notwithſtanding this meaſure appeared to be beneficial to the intereſt of the union at large, it was not until after the revolution,

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by which the preſent federal conſtitution was eſtabliſhed, that it was acceded to on the part of all the ſtates. Pennſylvania in particular, conſcious of her being a principal and central ſtate, and therefore likely to be made the ſeat of government if this new project was not carried into execution, was foremoſt in the oppoſition. At laſt ſhe complied; but it was only on condition that the congreſs ſhould meet at Philadelphia until the new city was ready for its reception, flattering herſelf that there would be ſo many objections afterwards to the removal of the ſeat of government, and ſo many difficulties in putting the project into execution, that it would finally be relinquiſhed. To the diſcriminating judgment of General Waſhington, then preſident, it was left to determine upon the ſpot beſt calculated for the federal city. After mature deliberation he fixed upon a ſituation on the banks of the Patowmac River, a ſituation which ſeems to be marked out by nature, not only for a large city, but expreſsly for the ſeat of the metropolis of the United States.

In the choice of the ſpot there were two principal conſiderations: Firſt, that it ſhould be as central as poſſible in reſpect to every ſtate in the union; ſecondly, that it ſhould be advantageouſly ſituated for commerce, without which it could not be expected that the city would ever be diſtinguiſhed for ſize or for ſplendour; and it was to be ſuppoſed, that the people of the United States would be deſirous of having the metropolis of the country as magnificent as it poſſibly could be. Theſe two eſſential points are moſt happily combined in the ſpot which has been choſen.

The northern and ſouthern extremities of the United States are in 46° and 31° north latitude. The latitude of the new city is 38° 53′ north; ſo that it is within twenty-three minutes of being exactly between the two extremities. In no part of North America either is there a port ſituated ſo far up the country to the weſtward, excepting what belongs to Great Britain on the river St. Lawrence, its diſtance from the ocean being no leſs than two hundred and eighty miles. A more central ſituation could certainly have been fixed upon, by going further to the weſtward; but had this been done, it muſt have been an inland one, which would have been

been very unfavourable for trade. The ſize of all towns in America has hitherto been proportionate to their trade, and particularly to that carried on with the back ſettlements. This trade conſiſts in ſupplying the people of the weſtern parts of the United States, or the back ſettlements, with certain articles of foreign manufacture, which they do not find any intereſt in fabricating for themſelves at preſent; nor is it to be ſuppoſed that they will, for many years to come, while land remains cheap, and theſe articles can be imported and ſent to them on reaſonable terms. The articles chiefly in demand conſiſt of hardware, woollen cloths, figured cottons, hoſiery, haberdaſhery, earthen ware, &c. &c. from England; coffee, rum, ſugar *, from the Weſt Indies; tea, coarſe muſlins, and calicoes, from the Eaſt Indies. In return for theſe articles the people of the back ſettlements ſend down for exportation the various kinds of produce which the country affords: wheat and flour, furs, ſkins, rice, indigo, tobacco, pitch, tar, &c. &c. It is very evident, therefore, that the beſt ſituation for a trading town muſt be upon a long navigable river, ſo that the town may be open to the ſea, and thus enabled to carry on a foreign trade, and at the ſame time be enabled, by means of an extenſive water communication in an oppoſite direction, to trade with the diſtant parts of the country. None of the inland towns have as yet increaſed to a great ſize. Lancaſter, which is the largeſt in all America, contains only nine hundred houſes, and it is nearly double the ſize of any other inland one. Neither do the ſea-port towns flouriſh, which are not well ſituated for carrying on an inland trade at the ſame time. The truth of this poſition muſt appear obvious on taking a ſurvey of the principal towns in the United States.

To begin with Boſton, the largeſt town north of New York, and one of the oldeſt in the United States. Though it has a moſt excellent harbour, and has always been inhabited by an enterprizing induſtrious ſet of people, yet it is now inferior, both in ſize and commerce, to Baltimore, which was little more than the reſidence of a few fiſhermen thirty years ago; and this, becauſe there is no river in the neighbourhood navi-

* Sugar is not ſent very far back into the country, as it is procured at much leſs expence from the maple-tree.

gable

gable for more than ſeven miles, and the weſtern parts of the ſtate of Maſſachuſets, of which it is the capital, can be ſupplied with commodities carried up the North River on much better terms than if the ſame commodities were ſent by land carriage from Boſton. Neither does Boſton increaſe by any means in the ſame proportion as the other towns, which have an extenſive trade with the people of the back ſettlements. For the ſame cauſe we do not find that any of the ſea-port or other towns in Rhode Iſland and Connecticut are increaſing very faſt; on the contrary, Newport, the capital of the ſtate of Rhode Iſland, and which has a harbour that is boaſted of as being one of the beſt throughout the United States, is now falling to decay. Newport contains about one thouſand houſes; none of the other towns between Boſton and New York contain more than five hundred.

We now come to New York, which enjoys the double advantages of an excellent harbour and a large navigable river, which opens a communication with the interior parts of the country; and here we find a flouriſhing city, containing forty thouſand * inhabitants, and increaſing beyond every calculation. The North or Hudſon River, at the mouth of which New York ſtands, is navigable from thence for one hundred and thirty miles in large veſſels, and in ſloops of eighty tons burthen as far as Albany; ſmaller ones go ſtill higher. About nine miles above Albany, the Mohawk River falls into the Hudſon, by means of which, Wood Creek, Lake Oneida, and Oſwego River, a communication is opened with Lake Ontario. In this route there are ſeveral portages, but it is a route which is much frequented, and numbers of boats are kept employed upon it in carrying goods whenever the ſeaſon is not too dry. In long droughts the waters fall ſo much that oftentimes there is not ſufficient to float an empty boat. All theſe obſtructions however may, and will one day or other, be remedied by the hand of art. Oſwego river, before it falls into Lake Ontario, communicates with the Seneka river, which affords in ſucceſſion an entrance into the lakes Cayuga, Seneka, and Canadaqua. Lake Seneka, the largeſt, is about forty miles in length;

* Six inhabitants may be reckoned for every houſe in the United States.

upon

upon it there is a ſchooner rigged veſſel of ſeventy tons burthen conſtantly employed. The ſhores of theſe lakes are more thickly ſettled than the other part of the adjacent country, but the population of the whole track lying between the rivers Geneſee and Hudſon, which are about two hundred and fifty miles apart, is rapidly increaſing. All this country weſt of the Hudſon River, together with that to the eaſt, comprehending the back parts of the ſtates of Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut, and alſo the entire of the ſtate of Vermont, are ſupplied with European manufactures and Weſt Indian produce, &c. &c. by way of New York; not directly from that city, but from Albany, Hudſon, and other towns on the North River, which trade with New York, and which are intermediate places for the depoſit of goods paſſing to, and coming from the back country. Albany, indeed, is now beginning herſelf to import goods from the Weſt Indies; but ſtill the bulk of her trade is with New York. Nothing can ſerve more to ſhew the advantages which accrue to any town from an intercourſe with the back country, than the ſudden progreſs of theſe ſecondary places of trade upon the North River. At Albany, the number of houſes is increaſing as faſt as at New York; at preſent there are upwards of eleven hundred; and in Hudſon city which was only laid out in the year 1783, there are now more than three hundred and twenty dwellings. This city is on the eaſt ſide of the North River, one hundred and thirty miles above its mouth. By means alſo of the North River and Lake Champlain a trade is carried on with Montreal in Canada.

But to go on with the ſurvey of the towns to the ſouthward. In New Jerſey, we find Amboy, ſituated at the head of Raritan Bay, a bay not inferior to any throughout the United States. The greateſt encouragements alſo have been held out by the ſtate legiſlature to merchants who would ſettle there; but the town, notwithſtanding, remains nearly in the ſtate it was in at the time of the revolution: ſixty houſes are all that it contains. New Brunſwick, which is built on Raritan River, about fifteen miles above its entrance into the bay, carries on a ſmall inland trade with the adjacent country; but the principal part of New Jerſey is naturally ſupplied with foreign manufactures by New York on the one ſide, and

by Philadelphia on the other, the towns moſt happily ſituated for the purpoſe. There are about two hundred houſes in New Brunſwick, and about the ſame number in Trenton on Delaware, the capital of the ſtate.

Philadelphia, the largeſt town in the union, has evidently been raiſed to that ſtate of pre-eminence by her extenſive inland commerce. On one ſide is the river Delaware, which is navigable in ſloops for thirty-five miles above the town, and in boats carrying eight or nine tons one hundred miles further. On the other ſide is the Schuylkill, navigable, excepting at the falls, for ninety miles. But the country bordering upon theſe rivers is but a trifling part of that which Philadelphia trades with. Goods are forwarded to Harriſburgh, a town ſituated on the Suſquehannah, and from thence ſent up that river, and diſperſed throughout the adjoining country. The eaſtern branch of Suſquehannah is navigable for two hundred and fifty miles above Harriſburgh. This place, which in 1786 ſcarcely deſerved the name of a village, now contains upwards of three hundred houſes. By land carriage Philadelphia alſo trades with the weſtern parts of Pennſylvania, as far as Pittſburg itſelf, which is on the Ohio, with the back of Virginia, and, ſtrange to tell, with Kentucky, ſeven hundred miles diſtant.

Philadelphia, however, does not enjoy the excluſive trade to Virginia and Kentucky; Baltimore, which lies more to the ſouth, comes in for a conſiderable ſhare, if not for the greateſt part of it, and to that is indebted for her ſudden riſe, and her great ſuperiority over Annapolis, the capital of Maryland. Annapolis, although it has a good harbour, and was made a port of entry as long ago as the year 1694, has ſcarcely any trade now. Baltimore, ſituated more in the heart of the country, has gradually drawn it all away from her. From Baltimore nearly the entire of Maryland is furniſhed with European manufactures. The very flouriſhing ſtate of this place has already been mentioned.

As the Patowmac river, and the towns upon it, are to come more particularly under notice afterwards, we may from hence paſs on to the other towns in Virginia. With regard to Virginia, however, it is to be obſerved, that the impolitic laws * which have been enacted in that ſtate

* For ſome account of them ſee Letter XIII.

have

have thrown a great damp upon trade; the Virginians too have always been more diſpoſed towards agriculture than trade, ſo that the towns in that ſtate, ſome of which are moſt advantageouſly ſituated, have never increaſed as they would have done had the county been inhabited by a different kind of people, and had different laws conſequently exiſted; ſtill however we ſhall find that the moſt flouriſhing towns in the ſtate are thoſe which are open to the ſea, and ſituated moſt conveniently at the ſame time for trading with the people of the back country. On Rappahannock River, for inſtance, Tappahannock or Hobb's Hole was laid out at the ſame time that Philadelphia was. Frederickſburgh was built many years afterwards on the ſame river, but thirty miles higher up, and at the head of that part of it which was navigable for ſea veſſels; the conſequence of this has been, that Frederickſburgh, from being ſituated more in the heart of the country, is now four times as large a town as Hobb's Hole.

York River, from running ſo cloſely to James River on the one ſide, and the Rappahannock on the other, does not afford a good ſituation for a large town. The largeſt town upon it, which is York, only contains ſeventy houſes.

Williamſburgh was formerly the capital of the ſtate, and contains about four hundred houſes; but inſtead of increaſing, this town is going to ruin, and numbers of the houſes at preſent are uninhabited, which is evidently on account of its inland ſituation. There is no navigable ſtream nearer to it than one mile and a half, and this is only a ſmall creek, which runs into James River. Richmond, on the contrary, which is the preſent capital of the ſtate, has increaſed very faſt, becauſe it ſtands on a large navigable river; yet Richmond is no more than an intermediate place for the depoſit of goods paſſing to and from the back country, veſſels drawing more than ſeven feet water being unable to come up to the town.

The principal place of trade in Virginia is Norfolk. This town has a good harbour, and is enabled to trade with the upper parts of the country, by means of James River, near the mouth of which it ſtands. By land alſo a briſk trade is carried on with the back parts of North Carolina, for in that ſtate there are no towns of any importance. The

entrance from the ſea into the rivers in that ſtate are all impeded by ſhoals and ſand banks, none of which afford more than eleven feet water, and the paſſage over ſome of them is very dangerous from the ſand ſhifting. Wilmington, which is the greateſt place of trade in it, contains only two hundred and fifty houſes. In order to carry on their trade to North Carolina to more advantage, a canal is now cutting acroſs the Diſmal Swamp, from Norfolk into Albemarle Sound, by means of the rivers that empty into which, a water communication will be opened to the remote parts of that ſtate. Added to this, Norfolk, from its contiguity to the Diſmal Swamp, is enabled to ſupply the Weſt Indian market with lumber on better terms than any other town in the United States. It is in conſequence increaſing with wonderful rapidity, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages it labours under from the laws, which are ſo inimical to commerce. At preſent it contains upwards of five hundred houſes, which have all been built within the laſt twenty years, for in the year 1776 the town was totally deſtroyed by orders of Lord Dunmore, then regal governor of Virginia.

Moſt of the rivers in South Carolina are obſtructed at their mouths, much in the ſame manner as thoſe in North Carolina; at Charleſton, however, there is a ſafe and commodious harbour. From having ſuch an advantage, this town commands nearly the entire trade of the ſtate in which it is ſituated, as well as a conſiderable portion of that of North Carolina. The conſequence is, that Charleſton ranks as the fourth commercial town in the union. There are two rivers which diſembogue on each ſide of the town, Cooper and Aſhley; theſe are navigable, but not for a very great diſtance; however, from Cooper River a canal is to be cut to the Santee, a large navigable river which runs a conſiderable way up the country. Charleſton has unfortunately been almoſt totally deſtroyed by fire of late, but it is rebuilding very faſt, and will moſt probably in a few years be larger than ever.

The view that has been taken ſo far is ſufficient to demonſtrate, that the proſperity of the towns in the United States is dependant upon their trade, and principally upon that which is carried on with the interior parts of the country; and alſo, that thoſe towns which are moſt conveniently

conveniently ſituated for the purpoſe of carrying on this inland trade, are thoſe which enjoy the greateſt ſhare of it. It is now time to examine more particularly how far the ſituation of the federal city is favourable, or otherwiſe, for commerce: to do ſo, it will be neceſſary, in the firſt place, to trace the courſe of the Patowmac River, on which it ſtands, and alſo that of the rivers with which it is connected.

The Patowmac takes its riſe on the north-weſt ſide of Alleghany Mountains, and after running in a meandering direction for upwards of four hundred miles, falls into the Cheſapeak Bay. At its confluence with the bay it is ſeven miles and a half wide; about thirty miles higher, at Nominy Bay, four and a half; at Aquia, three; at Hallowing Point, one and a half; and at Alexandria, and from thence to the federal city, it is one mile and quarter wide. The depth of water at its mouth is ſeven fathoms; at St. George's Iſland, five; at Alexandria, four; and from thence to Waſhington, ſeven miles diſtant, three fathoms. The navigation of the Patowmac, from the Cheſapeak Bay to the city, one hundred and forty miles diſtant, is remarkable ſafe, and ſo plain that any navigator of common abilities, that has once ſailed up the river, might venture to take up a veſſel drawing twelve feet water without a pilot. This could not be ſaid of any other river on the continent, from the St. Lawrence to the Miſſiſſippi. In its courſe it receives ſeveral large ſtreams, the principal one of which falls in at the federal city. This river is called the Eaſtern Branch of the Patowmac; but it ſcarcely deſerves that name, as it extends no more than thirty miles up the country. At its mouth it is nearly as wide as the main branch of the river, and cloſe to the city the water is in many places thirty feet deep. Thouſands of veſſels might lie here, and ſheltered from all danger, ariſing either from freſhes, or from ice upon the breaking up of a ſevere winter. Thus it appears that the federal city is poſſeſſed of one eſſential qualification for making it a place of importance, namely, a good harbour, from which there is a ready paſſage to the ocean; it will alſo appear that it is well ſituated for trading with the interior parts of the country.

The water in the Patowmac continues nearly the ſame depth that it

is

is oppoſite to the city for one mile higher, where a large rock riſes up in the middle of the river, on each ſide of which there are ſand-banks. It is ſaid that there is a deep channel between this rock and the ſhore, but it is ſo intricate that it would be dangerous to attempt to take a large veſſel through it. The navigation, however, is ſafe to the little falls for river craft, five miles further on; here a canal, which extends two miles and a half, the length of theſe falls or rapids, has been cut and perfected, which opens a free paſſage for boats as far as the great falls, which are ſeven miles from the others. The deſcent of the river at theſe is ſeventy-ſix feet in a mile and quarter; but it is intended to make another canal here alſo; a part of it is already cut, and every exertion is making to have the whole completed with expedition *. From hence to Fort Cumberland, one hundred and ninety-one miles above the federal city, there is a free navigation, and boats are continually paſſing up and down. Beyond this, the paſſage in the river is obſtructed in numerous places; but there is a poſſibility of opening it, and as ſoon as the company formed for the purpoſe have ſufficient funds, it will certainly be done. From the place up to which it is aſſerted the paſſage of the Patowmac can be opened, the diſtance acroſs land to Cheat River is only thirty-ſeven miles. This laſt river is not at preſent navigable for more than fifty miles above its mouth; but it can be rendered ſo for boats, and ſo far up that there will only be the ſhort portage that I have mentioned between the navigable waters of the two rivers. Things are only great or ſmall by compariſon, and a portage of thirty-ſeven miles will be thought a very ſhort one, when found to be the only interruption to an inland navigation of upwards of two thouſand ſeven hundred miles, of which two thouſand one hundred and eighty-three are down ſtream. Cheat River is two hundred yards wide at its mouth, and falls into the Monongahela, which runs on to Pittſburgh, and there receives the Alleghany River; united they form the Ohio, which after a courſe of one thouſand one hundred and eighty-three miles, during which it receives twenty-four other conſiderable rivers, ſome of them ſix hundred

* For a further deſcription of theſe Falls ſee Letter XXXI.

yards

yards wide at the mouth, and navigable for hundreds of miles up the country, empties itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi.

If we trace the water communication in an oppoſite direction, its prodigious extent will be a ſtill greater ſubject of aſtoniſhment. By aſcending the Alleghany River from Pittſburgh as far as French Creek, and afterwards this latter ſtream, you come to Fort le Bœuf. This place is within fifteen miles of Preſqu' Iſle, a town ſituated upon Lake Erie, which has a harbour capable of admitting veſſels drawing nine feet water. Or you may get upon the lake by aſcending the Great Miami River, which falls into the Ohio five hundred and fifty miles below Pittsburgh. From the Great Miami there is a portage of nine miles only to Sanduſky River, which runs into Lake Erie. It is moſt probable, however, that whatever intercourſe there may be between the lakes and the federal city, it will be kept up by means of the Alleghany River and French Creek, rather than by the Miami, as in the laſt caſe it would be neceſſary to combat againſt the ſtream of the Ohio for five hundred and fifty miles, a very ſerious object of conſideration.

Lake Erie is three hundred miles in length, and ninety in breadth, and there is a free communication between it, Lake Huron, and Lake Michigan. Lake Huron is upwards of one thouſand miles in circumference; Michigan is ſomewhat ſmaller. Numbers of large rivers fall into theſe lakes, after having watered immenſe tracts of country in various directions. Some of theſe rivers too are connected in a moſt ſingular manner with others, which run in a courſe totally different. For inſtance, after paſſing over the Lakes Erie, St. Clair, and Michigan, to the head of Puan's Bay, you come to Fox River; from hence there is a portage of three miles only to Ouiſconſing River, which empties itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi; and in the fall of the year, when the waters are high, and the rivers overflow, it is oftentimes poſſible to paſs from Fox River to Ouiſconſing River without ever getting out of a canoe. Thus, excepting a portage of three miles only at the moſt, it is poſſible to go the whole way by water from Preſqu' Iſle, on Lake Erie, to New Orleans, at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, a diſtance of near four thouſand miles. It would be an endleſs taſk to trace the water communication in

every direction. By a portage of nine miles at the Falls of Niagara, the navigation of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence is opened on one ſide, and at the other that of Lake Superior, by a ſtill ſhorter portage at the Falls of St. Mary. This laſt lake, which is at leaſt fifteen hundred miles in circumference, is ſupplied by no leſs than forty rivers; and beyond it the water communication extends for hundreds of miles farther on, through the Lake of the Woods to Lake Winnipeg, which is ſtill larger than that of Superior.

But ſuppoſing that the immenſe regions bordering upon theſe lakes and rivers were already peopled, it is not to be concluded, that becauſe they are connected by water with the Patowmac, the federal city muſt neceſſarily be the mart for the various productions of the whole country. There are different ſea ports to which the inhabitants will trade, according to the ſituation of each particular part of the country. Quebec, on the river St. Lawrence, will be one; New York, connected as has been ſhewn with Lake Ontario, another; and New Orleans, at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, which by the late treaty with Spain has been made a free port, a third. The federal city will come in alſo for its ſhare; and what this ſhare will be it now remains to aſcertain.

Situated upon the banks of the Patowmac, there are already two towns, and both in the vicinity of the federal city. George Town, which contains about two hundred and fifty houſes, and Alexandria, with double the number. The former of theſe ſtands about one mile above the city, nearly oppoſite the large rock in the river, which has been ſpoken of; the latter, ſeven miles below it. Conſiderable quantities of produce are already ſent down the Patowmac to each of theſe towns, and the people in the country are beginning to look thither in return for a part of their ſupply of foreign manufactures. It has been maintained, therefore, that theſe two places, already in the practice of trading with the back ſettlers, will draw the greater part of the country trade to themſelves, to the prejudice of the federal city. Both theſe towns have as great advantages in point of ſituation as the city; the intereſts of the three places therefore muſt unqueſtionably for a time claſh together. It can hardly be doubted, however, but that the federal

federal city will in a few years completely eclipſe the other two. George Town can furniſh the people of the back country with foreign manufactures, at ſecond hand only, from Baltimore and Philadelphia; Alexandria imports directly from Europe, but on a very contracted ſcale: more than two thirds of the goods which are ſent from thence to the back country are procured in the ſame manner as at George Town. In neither place are there merchants with large capitals; nor have the banks, of which there is one in each town, ſufficient funds to afford them much aſſiſtance; but merchants with large capitals are preparing to move to the city. As ſoon alſo as the ſeat of government is fixed there, the national bank, or at leaſt a large branch of it, will be eſtabliſhed at the ſame time; this circumſtance alone will afford the people of the city a decided advantage over thoſe of Alexandria and George Town. Added to all, both theſe towns are in the territory of Columbia, that is, in the diſtrict of ten miles round the city which is to be ſubject to the laws and regulations of congreſs alone; it may be, therefore, that encouragements will be held out by congreſs to thoſe who ſettle in the city, which will be refuſed to ſuch as go to any other part of the territory. Although Alexandria and George Town, then, may rival the city while it is in its infancy, yet it cannot be imagined that either of them will be able to cope with it in the end. The probable trade of the city may for this reaſon be ſpoken of as if neither of the other places exiſted.

It may be taken for granted, in the firſt place, that the whole of the country bordering upon the Patowmac river, and upon thoſe rivers which fall into it, will trade with the city of Waſhington. In tracing the courſe of the Patowmac all theſe rivers were not enumerated; a better idea of them may be had from an inſpection of the map. Shenandoah, which is the longeſt, is not navigable at preſent; but it has been ſurveyed, and the company for improving the navigation of the Patowmac have ſtated that it can be made ſo for one hundred miles. This would be coming very near to Staunton, behind the Blue Mountains, and which is on the high road from Kentucky, and from the new ſtate of Teneſſee, to the city of Philadelphia. Frankfort, the capital of the former of theſe ſtates, is nearly eight hundred miles from Philadelphia; Knox-

ville, that of the other, ſeven hundred and twenty-eight. Both theſe towns draw their ſupplies of foreign manufactures from Philadelphia, and by landcarriage. Suppoſing then that the navigation of the Shenandoah ſhould be perfected, there would be a ſaving of four hundred and thirty-ſix miles of land carriage from going to Waſhington by the Shenandoah and Patowmac inſtead of going to Philadelphia; ſuch a ſaving, it might be imagined, would draw the whole of this trade to Waſhington. Whether the two weſtern ſtates, Kentucky and Teneſſee, will trade to New Orleans or not, at a future day, in preference to any of theſe places, will be inveſtigated preſently.

By means of Cheat and Monongahela rivers it has been ſhewn, that an opening may be obtained to Pittſburgh. This will be a route of about four hundred and fifty miles from Waſhington, and in it there will be one portage, from the Patowmac to Cheat River, of thirty-ſeven miles, and perhaps two or three others; but theſe will be all very ſmall. It has been aſcertained beyond doubt, that the Pittſburgh merchant can have his goods conveyed from New York, by means of the Hudſon and Mohawk rivers, to Oſwego, and from thence by the lakes Ontario and Erie, and the Alleghany River, to Pittſburgh, for one third of the ſum which it coſts him to tranſport them by land from Philadelphia. He prefers getting them by land, becauſe the route from New York is uncertain; his goods may be loſt, or damaged, or delayed months beyond the time he expects them. From Hudſon River to the Mohawk is a portage of ten miles, or thereabouts; and before they can get to Oſwego are two or three more. At Oſwego the goods muſt be ſhipped on board a veſſel ſuitable for navigating the lakes, where they are expoſed to tempeſts and contrary winds. At the Falls of Niagara is a portage of nine miles more; the goods muſt here be ſhipped again on board a veſſel on Lake Erie, and after arriving at Preſqu' Iſle muſt be conveyed over another portage preparatory to their being laden in a boat upon the Alleghany River. The whole of this route, from New York to Pittſburgh, is about eight hundred miles; that from the federal city not much more than half the diſtance; if therefore the merchant at Pittſburgh can get his goods conveyed from New York

for

for one third of what he pays for the carriage of them by land from Philadelphia, he ought not to pay more than one ſixth of the ſum for their carriage from the federal city; it is to be concluded, therefore, that he will avail himſelf of the latter route, as there will be no objection to it on account of any uncertainty in the mode of conveyance, ariſing from ſtorms and contrary winds.

The people in Pittſburgh, and the weſtern country along the waters of the Ohio, draw their ſupplies from Philadelphia and Baltimore; but they ſend the productions of the country, which would be too bulky for land carriage, down the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi to New Orleans. From Pittſburgh to New Orleans the diſtance is two thouſand one hundred and eighty-three miles. On an average it takes about twenty-eight days to go down there with the ſtream; but to return by water it takes from ſixty days to three months. The paſſage back is very laborious as well as tedious; on which account they ſeldom think of bringing back boats which are ſent down from Pittſburgh, but on arriving at New Orleans they are broken up, and the plank ſold. Theſe boats are built on the cheapeſt conſtruction, and expreſsly for the purpoſe of going down ſtream. The men get back the beſt way they can, generally in ſhips bound from New Orleans to the ſouthern ſtates, and from thence home by land. Now, if the paſſage from the Ohio to the Patowmac is opened, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the people in Pittſburgh and the vicinity will continue thus to ſend the produce down to Orleans, from whence they cannot bring any thing in return; they will naturally ſend to the federal city, from whence they can draw the ſupplies they are in want of, and which is ſo much nearer to them, that when the navigation is perfected it will be poſſible to go there and back again in the ſame time that it requires merely to go down to New Orleans.

But although the people of that country which borders upon the Ohio and its waters, in the vicinage of Pittſburgh, may have an intereſt in trading to the federal city, yet thoſe who live towards the mouth of that river will find an intereſt equally great in trading to New Orleans, for the Ohio River is no leſs than eleven hundred and eighty three miles in length. How far down upon the Ohio a commercial intercourſe will be kept up

with the city, will moſt probably be determined by other circumſtances than that of diſtance alone; it may depend upon the demand there may be at one or other port for particular articles, &c. &c.; it may alſo depend upon the ſeaſon; for at regular periods there are floods in the Miſſiſſippi, and alſo in the Ohio, which make a great difference in the time of aſcending and deſcending theſe rivers. The floods in the Miſſiſſippi are occaſioned by the diſſolution of the immenſe bodies of ſnow and ice accumulated during winter in thoſe northern regions through which the river paſſes; they are alſo very regular, beginning in the month of March and ſubſiding in July. Thoſe in the Ohio take place between Chriſtmas and May; but they are not regular and ſteady like thoſe of the Miſſiſſippi, for the water riſes and falls many times in the courſe of the ſeaſon. Theſe floods are occaſioned by heavy falls of rain in the beginnning of winter, as well as by the thawing of the ice.

The Miſſiſſippi has a very winding courſe *, and at every bend there is an eddy in the water. Theſe eddies are always ſtrongeſt during the inundations, conſequently it is then a much leſs difficult taſk to aſcend the river. With the Ohio, however, it is directly the reverſe; there are no eddies in the river; wherefore floods are found to facilitate the paſſage downwards, but to render that againſt the ſtream difficult.

Suppoſing, however, the ſeaſon favourable for the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, and alſo for the navigation of the Ohio, which it might well be at the ſame time, then Louiſville, in Kentucky, is the place through which the line may be drawn that will ſeparate as nearly as poſſible the country naturally connected with Waſhington from that appertaining to New Orleans. It takes twenty days, on an average, at the moſt favourable ſeaſon, to go from Louiſville to New Orleans, and to return,

* In the year 1722, as a party of Canadians were going down the river, they found at one place ſuch a bend in it, that although the diſtance acroſs land, from one part of the river to the other, was not more perhaps than two hundred yards, yet by water it was no leſs than forty miles.—The Canadians cut a trench acroſs the land for curioſity.—The ſoil bordering upon the Miſſiſſippi is remarkably rich and ſoft, and the current being ſtrong, the river in a ſhort time forced a new paſſage for itſelf, and the Canadians took their boat through it. This place is called Pointé Coupée. There are many ſimilar bends in the river at preſent, but none ſo great,

forty ;

forty; which in the whole makes ſixty days. From the rapids in the Ohio, cloſe to which Louiſville is ſituated, to Pittſburgh, the diſtance is ſeven hundred and three miles; ſo that at the rate of thirty miles a day, which is a moderate computation, it would require twenty-four days to go there. From Pittſburgh to the Patowmac the diſtance is one hundred and ſixty miles againſt the ſtream, which at the ſame rate, and allowing time for the portages, would take ſeven days more, and two hundred and ninety miles down the Patowmac, at ſixty miles per day, would require five days: this is allowing thirty-five days for going, and computing the time for returning at the ſame rate, that is thirty miles againſt the ſtream, and ſixty miles with the ſtream, each day, it would amount to twenty-five days, which, added to the time of going, makes in the whole fifty-nine days; if the odd day be allowed for contingencies, the paſſage to and from the two places would then be exactly alike. It is fair then to conclude, that if the demand at the federal city for country produce be equally great as at New Orleans, and there is no reaſon to ſay why it ſhould not, the whole of the produce of that country, which lies contiguous to the Ohio, and the rivers falling into it, as far down as Louiſville in Kentucky, will be ſent to the former of theſe places. This tract is ſeven hundred miles in length, and from one hundred to two hundred miles in breadth. Added to this, the whole of that country lying near the Alleghany River, and the ſtreams that run into it, muſt naturally be ſupplied from the city; a great part of the country bordering upon Lake Erie, near Preſqu' Iſle, may likewiſe be included.

Conſidering the vaſtneſs of the territory, which is thus opened to the federal city by means of a water communication; conſidering that it is capable, from the fertility of its ſoil, of maintaining three times the number of inhabitants that are to be found at preſent in all the United States; and that it is advancing at the preſent time more rapidly in population than any other part of the whole continent; there is a good foundation for thinking that the federal city, as ſoon as the navigation is perfected, will increaſe moſt rapidly; and that at a future day, if the affairs of the United States go on as proſperouſly as they have done, it will

will become the grand emporium of the weſt, and rival in magnitude and ſplendor the cities of the old world.

The city is laid out on a neck of land between the forks formed by the eaſtern and weſtern or main branch of Patowmac River. This neck of land, together with an adjacent territory, which is in the whole ten miles ſquare, was ceded to congreſs by the ſtates of Maryland and Virginia. The ground on which the city immediately ſtands was the property of private individuals, who readily relinquiſhed their claim to one half of it in favour of congreſs, conſcious that the value of what was left to them would increaſe, and amply compenſate them for their loſs. The profits ariſing from the ſale of that part which has thus been ceded to congreſs will be ſufficient, it is expected, to pay for the public buildings, for the watering of the city, and alſo for paving and lighting of the ſtreets. The plan of the city was drawn by a Frenchman of the name of L'Enfant, and is on a ſcale well ſuited to the extent of the country, one thouſand two hundred miles in length, and one thouſand in breadth, of which it is to be the metropolis; for the ground already marked out for it is no leſs than fourteen miles in circumference. The ſtreets run north, ſouth, eaſt, and weſt; but to prevent that ſameneſs neceſſarily enſuing from the ſtreets all croſſing each other at right angles, a number of avenues are laid out in different parts of the city, which run tranſverſely; and in ſeveral places, where theſe avenues interſect each other, are to be hollow ſquares. The ſtreets, which croſs each other at right angles, are from ninety to one hundred feet wide, the avenues one hundred and ſixty feet. One of theſe is named after each ſtate, and a hollow ſquare alſo allotted to each, as a ſuitable place for ſtatues, columns, &c. which, at a future period, the people of any one of theſe ſtates may wiſh to erect to the memory of great men that may appear in the country. On a ſmall eminence, due weſt of the capitol, is to be an equeſtrian ſtatue of General Waſhington.

The capitol is now building upon the moſt elevated ſpot of ground in the city, which happens to be in a very central ſituation. From this ſpot there is a complete view of every part of the city, and alſo of the adjacent country. In the capitol are to be ſpacious apartments for

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for the accommodation of congreſs; in it alſo are to be the principal public offices in the executive department of the government, together with the courts of juſtice. The plan on which this building is begun is grand and extenſive; the expenſe of building it is eſtimated at a million of dollars, equal to two hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling.

The houſe for the reſidence of the preſident ſtands north-weſt of the capitol, at the diſtance of about one mile and a half. It is ſituated upon a riſing ground not far from the Patowmac, and commands a moſt beautiful proſpect of the river, and of the rich country beyond it. One hundred acres of ground, towards the river, are left adjoining to the houſe for pleaſure grounds. South of this there is to be a large park or mall, which is to run in an eaſterly direction from the river to the capitol. The buildings on either ſide of this mall are all to be elegant in their kind; amongſt the number it is propoſed to have houſes built at the public expenſe for the accommodation of the foreign miniſters, &c. On the eaſtern branch a large ſpot is laid out for a marine hoſpital and gardens. Various other parts are appointed for churches, theatres, colleges, &c. The ground in general, within the limits of the city, is agreeably undulated; but none of the riſings are ſo great as to become objects of inconvenience in a town. The ſoil is chiefly of a yellowiſh clay mixed with gravel. There are numbers of excellent ſprings in the city, and water is readily had in moſt places by digging wells. Here are two ſtreams likewiſe, which run through the city, Reedy Branch and Tiber Creek.* The perpendicular height of the ſource of the latter, above the level of the tide, is two hundred and thirty-ſix feet.

By the regulations publiſhed, it was ſettled that all the houſes ſhould be built of brick or ſtone; the walls to be thirty feet high, and to be built parallel to the line of the ſtreet, but either upon it or

* Upon the granting poſſeſſion of waſte lands to any perſon, commonly called the *location* of lands, it is uſual to give particular names to different ſpots, and alſo to the creeks and rivers. On the original location of the ground now allotted for the ſeat of the federal city, this creek received the name of Tiber Creek, and the identical ſpot of ground on which the capitol now ſtands was called Rome. This anecdote is related by many as a certain prognoſtic of the future magnificence of this city, which is to be, as it were, a ſecond Rome.

withdrawn

withdrawn from it, as ſuited the taſte of the builder. However, numbers of wooden habitations have been built; but the different owners have all been cautioned againſt conſidering them as permanent. They are to be allowed for a certain term only, and then deſtroyed. Three commiſſioners, who reſide on the ſpot, are appointed by the preſident, with a ſalary, for the purpoſe of ſuperintending the public and other buildings, and regulating every thing pertaining to the city.

The only public buildings carrying on as yet, are the preſident's houſe, the capitol, and a large hotel. The preſident's houſe, which is nearly completed on the outſide, is two ſtories high, and built of free ſtone. The principal room in it is of an oval form. This is undoubtedly the handſomeſt building in the country, and the architecture of it is much extolled by the people, who have never ſeen any thing ſuperior; but it will not bear a critical examination. Many perſons find fault with it, as being too large and too ſplendid for the reſidence of any one perſon in a republican country; and certainly it is a ridiculous habitation for a man who receives a ſalary that amounts to no more than £.5,625 ſterling per annum, and in a country where the expences of living are far greater than they are even in London.

The hotel is a large building of brick, ornamented with ſtone; it ſtands between the preſident's houſe and the capitol. In the beginning of the year 1796, when I laſt ſaw it, it was roofed in, and every exertion making to have it finiſhed with the utmoſt expedition. It is any thing but beautiful. The capitol, at the ſame period, was raiſed only a very little way above the foundation.

The ſtone, which the preſident's houſe is built with, and ſuch as will be uſed for all the public buildings, is very ſimilar in appearance to that found at Portland in England; but I was informed by one of the ſculptors, who had frequently worked the Portland ſtone in England, that it is of a much ſuperior quality, as it will bear to be cut as fine as marble, and is not liable to be injured by rain or froſt. On the banks of the Patowmac they have inexhauſtible quarries of this ſtone; good ſpecimens of common marble have alſo been found; and there is in various

parts

parts of the river abundance of excellent ſlate, paving ſtone, and lime-ſtone. Good coal may alſo be had.

The private houſes are all plain buildings; moſt of them have been built on ſpeculation, and ſtill remain empty. The greateſt number, at any one place, is at Green Leafs Point, on the main river, juſt above the entrance of the eaſtern branch. This ſpot has been looked upon by many as the moſt convenient one for trade; but others prefer the ſhore of the eaſtern branch, on account of the ſuperiority of the harbour, and the great depth of the water near the ſhore. There are ſeveral other favourite ſituations, the choice of any one of which is a mere matter of ſpeculation at preſent. Some build near the capitol, as the moſt convenient place for the reſidence of members of congreſs, ſome near the preſident's houſe; others again prefer the weſt end of the city, in the neighbourhood of George Town, thinking that as trade is already eſtabliſhed in that place, it muſt be from thence that it will extend into the city. Were the houſes that have been built ſituated in one place all together, they would make a very reſpectable appearance, but ſcattered about as they are, a ſpectator can ſcarcely perceive any thing like a town. Excepting the ſtreets and avenues, and a ſmall part of the ground adjoining the public buildings, the whole place is covered with trees. To be under the neceſſity of going through a deep wood for one or two miles, perhaps, in order to ſee a next door neighbour, and in the ſame city, is a curious, and, I believe, a novel circumſtance. The number of inhabitants in the city, in the ſpring of 1796, amounted to about five thouſand, including artificers, who formed by far the largeſt part of that number. Numbers of ſtrangers are continually paſſing and repaſſing through a place which affords ſuch an extenſive field for ſpeculation.

In addition to what has already been ſaid upon the ſubject, I have only to obſerve, that notwithſtanding all that has been done at the city, and the large ſums of money which have been expended, there are numbers of people in the United States, living to the north of the Patowmac, particularly in Philadelphia, who are ſtill very adverſe to the removal of the ſeat of government thither, and are doing all in their power to check the progreſs of the buildings in the city,

and to prevent the congreſs from meeting there at the appointed time. In the ſpring of 1796, when I was laſt on the ſpot, the building of the capitol was abſolutely at a ſtand for want of money; the public lots were at a very low price, and the commiſſioners were unwilling to diſpoſe of them; in conſequence they made an application to congreſs, praying the houſe to guaranty a loan of three hundred thouſand dollars, without which they could not go on with the public buildings, except they diſpoſed of the lots to great diſadvantage, and to the ultimate injury of the city; ſo ſtrong, however, was the oppoſition, that the petition was ſuffered to lie on the table unattended to for many weeks; nor was the prayer of it complied with until a number of gentlemen, that were very deeply intereſted in the improvement of the city, went round to the different members, and made intereſt with them in perſon to give their aſſent to the meaſure. Theſe people, who are oppoſed to the building of the city of Waſhington, maintain, that it can never become a town of any importance, and that all ſuch as think to the contrary have been led aſtray by the repreſentations of a few enthuſiaſtic perſons; they go ſo far even as to aſſert, that the people to the eaſtward will never ſubmit to ſee the ſeat of government removed ſo far from them, and the congreſs aſſembled in a place little better than a foreſt, where it will be impoſſible to procure information upon commercial points; finally, they inſiſt, that if the removal from Philadelphia ſhould take place, a ſeparation of the ſtates will inevitably follow. This is the language held forth; but their oppoſition in reality ariſes from that jealouſy which narrow minded people in trade are but too apt to entertain of each other when their intereſts claſh together. Theſe people wiſh to cruſh the city of Waſhington while it is yet in its infancy, becauſe they know, that if the ſeat of government is transferred thither, the place will thrive, and enjoy a conſiderable portion of that trade which is centered at preſent in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. It is idle, however, to imagine that this will injure their different towns; on the contrary, although a portion of that trade which they enjoy at preſent ſhould be drawn from them, yet the increaſe of population in that part of the country, which they muſt naturally ſupply, will be ſuch, that their trade on the whole will,

will, in all probability, be found far more extenſive after the federal city is eſtabliſhed than it ever was before.

A large majority, however, of the people in the United States is deſirous that the removal of the ſeat of government ſhould take place; and there is little doubt that it will take place at the appointed time. The diſcontents indeed, which an oppoſite meaſure would give riſe to in the ſouth could not but be alarming, and if they did not occaſion a total ſeparation of the ſouthern from the northern ſtates, yet they would certainly materially deſtroy that harmony which has hitherto exiſted between them.

LETTER V.

Some Account of Alexandria.—Mount Vernon, the Seat of General Waſhington —Difficulty of finding the Way thither through the Woods.—Deſcription of the Mount, and of the Views from it.—Deſcription of the Houſe and Grounds.—Slaves at Mount Vernon.—Thoughts thereon.—A Perſon at Mount Vernon to attend to Strangers.—Return to Waſhington.

MY DEAR SIR, Waſhington, December.

FROM Waſhington I proceeded to Alexandria, ſeven miles lower down the river, which is one of the neateſt towns in the United States. The houſes are moſtly brick, and many of them are extremely well built. The ſtreets interſect each other at right angles; they are commodious and well paved Nine miles below this place, on the banks of the Patowmac, ſtands Mount Vernon, the ſeat of General Waſhington; the way to it, however, from Alexandria, by land, is conſiderably farther, on account of the numerous creeks which fall into the Patowmac, and the mouths of which it is impoſſible to paſs near to.

Very thick woods remain ſtanding within four or five miles of the place; the roads through them are very bad, and ſo many of them croſs one another in different directions, that it is a matter of very great dif-

ficulty to find out the right one. I ſet out from Alexandria with a gentleman who thought himſelf perfectly well acquainted with the way; had he been ſo there was ample time to have reached Mount Vernon before the cloſe of the day, but night overtook us wandering about in the woods. We did not perceive the veſtige of a human being to ſet us right, and we were preparing to paſs the night in the carriage, when luckily a light appeared at ſome diſtance through the trees; it was from a ſmall farm houſe, the only one in the way for ſeveral miles; and having made our way to it, partly in the carriage, partly on foot, we hired a negro for a guide, who conducted us to the place of our deſtination in about an hour. The next morning I heard of a gentleman, who, a day or two preceding, had been from ten o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon on horſeback, unable to find out the place, although within three or four miles of it the whole time.

The Mount is a high part of the bank of the river, which riſes very abruptly about two hundred feet above the level of the water. The river before it is three miles wide, and on the oppoſite ſide it forms a bay about the ſame breadth, which extends for a conſiderable diſtance up the country. This, at firſt ſight, appears to be a continuation of the river; but the Patowmac takes a very ſudden turn to the left, two or three miles above the houſe, and is quickly loſt to the view. Downwards, to the right, there is a proſpect of it for twelve miles. The Maryland ſhore, on the oppoſite ſide, is beautifully diverſified with hills, which are moſtly covered with wood; in many places, however, little patches of cultivated ground appear, ornamented with houſes. The ſcenery altogether is moſt delightful. The houſe, which ſtands about ſixty yards from the edge of the Mount, is of wood, cut and painted ſo as to reſemble hewn ſtone. The rear is towards the river, at which ſide is a portico of ninety-ſix feet in length, ſupported by eight pillars. The front is uniform, and at a diſtance looks tolerably well. The dwelling houſe is in the center, and communicates with the wings on either ſide, by means of covered ways, running in a curved direction. Behind theſe wings, on the one ſide, are the different offices belonging to the houſe, and alſo to the farm, and on the other, the

cabins

cabins for the SLAVES*. In front, the breadth of the whole building, is a lawn with a gravel walk round it, planted with trees, and ſeparated by hedges on either ſide from the farm yard and garden. As for the garden, it wears exactly the appearance of a nurſery, and with every thing about the place indicates that more attention is paid to profit than to pleaſure. The ground in the rear of the houſe is alſo laid out in a lawn, and the declivity of the Mount, towards the water, in a deer park.

The rooms in the houſe are very ſmall, excepting one, which has been built ſince the cloſe of the war for the purpoſe of entertainments. All of theſe are very plainly furniſhed, and in many of them the furniture is dropping to pieces. Indeed, the cloſe attention which General Waſhington has ever paid to public affairs having obliged him to reſide

* Theſe are amongſt the firſt of the buildings which are ſeen on coming to Mount Vernon, and it is not without aſtoniſhment and regret they are ſurveyed by the ſtranger, whoſe mind has dwelt with admiration upon the inеſtimable bleſſings of liberty, whilſt approaching the reſidence of that man who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo glorioufly in its cauſe. Happy would it have been, if the man who ſtood forth the champion of a nation contending for its freedom, and whoſe declaration to the whole world was, "That all men were created equal, and that they "were endowed by their Creator with certain "unalienable rights, amongſt the firſt of which "were life, liberty, and the purſuit of happi-"neſs;" happy would it have been, if this man could have been the firſt to wave all intereſted views, to liberate his own ſlaves, and thus convince the people he had fought for, that it was their duty, when they had eſtabliſhed their own independence, to give freedom to thoſe whom they had themſelves held in bondage!!

But material objections, we muſt ſuppoſe, appeared againſt ſuch a meaſure, otherwiſe, doubtleſs, General Waſhington would have ſhewn the glorious example. Perhaps he thought it more for the general good, that the firſt ſtep for the emancipation of ſlaves ſhould be taken by the legiſlative aſſembly; or perhaps there was reaſon to apprehend, that the enfranchiſement of his own ſlaves might be the cauſe of inſurrections amongſt others who were not liberated, a matter which could not but be attended with evil conſequences in a country where the number of ſlaves exceeded that of freemen; however, it does not appear that any meaſures have been purſued, either by private individuals or by the legiſlature in Virginia, for the abolition of ſlavery; neither have any ſteps been taken for the purpoſe in Maryland, much leſs in the more ſouthern ſtates; but in Penſylvania and the reſt, laws have paſſed for its gradual abolition. In theſe ſtates the number of ſlaves, it is true, was very ſmall, and the meaſure was therefore eaſily carried into effect; in the others then it will require more conſideration. The plan, however, which has been adopted for the liberation of the few has ſucceeded well; why then not try it with a larger number? If it does not anſwer, ſtill I cannot but ſuppoſe that it might be ſo modified as to be rendered applicable to the enfranchiſement of the number of ill fated beings who are enſlaved in the ſouthern parts of the country, let it be ever ſo large. However, that there will be an end to ſlavery in the United States on ſome day or other cannot be doubted; negroes will not remain deaf to the inviting call of liberty for ever; and if their avaricious oppreſſors do not free them from the galling yoke, they will liberate themſelves with a vengeance.

principally

principally at Philadelphia, Mount Vernon has conſequently ſuffered very materially. The houſe and offices, with every other part of the place, are out of repair, and the old part of the building is in ſuch a periſhable ſtate, that I have been told he wiſhes he had pulled it entirely down at firſt, and built a new houſe, inſtead of making any addition to the old one. The grounds in the neighbourhood are cultivated, but the principal farms are at the diſtance of two or three miles.

As almoſt every ſtranger going through the country makes a point of viſiting Mount Vernon, a perſon is kept at the houſe during General Waſhington's abſence, whoſe ſole buſineſs it is to attend to ſtrangers. Immediately on our arrival every care was taken of our horſes, beds were prepared, and an excellent ſupper provided for us, with claret and other wine, &c.

As the ſeaſon was now too far advanced to ſee the country to advantage, I proceeded no farther in Virginia than Mount Vernon, but returned again to the city of Waſhington.

J. Weld del.t

VIEW of MOUNT VERNON, the seat of GEN. WASHINGTON.

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LETTER VI.

Arrival at Philadelphia.—Some Obſervations on the Climate of the Middle States.—Public Carriages prevented from plying between Baltimore and Philadelphia by the Badneſs of the Roads.—Left Baltimore during Froſt.—Met with American Travellers on the Road.—Their Behaviour preparatory to ſetting off from an Inn.—Arrival on the Banks of the Suſquehannah.—Paſſage of that River when frozen over.—Dangerous Situation of the Paſſengers.—American Travellers at the Tavern on the oppoſite Side of the River.—Their noiſy Diſputations.

MY DEAR SIR, Philadelphia, February.

AFTER having ſpent ſome weeks in Waſhington, George Town, and Baltimore, I ſet out for this city, where I arrived four days ago.

The months of October and November are the moſt agreeable, in the middle and ſouthern ſtates, of any in the year; the changes in the weather are then leſs frequent, and for the moſt part the air is temperate and the ſky ſerene. During this year the air was ſo mild, that when I was at George Town, even as late as the ſecond week in December, it was found pleaſant to keep the windows up during dinner time. This, however, was an unuſual circumſtance.

In Maryland, before December was over, there were a few cold days, and during January we had two or three different falls of ſnow; but for the moſt part the weather remained very mild until the latter end of January, when a ſharp north-weſt wind ſet in. The keenneſs of this wind in winter is prodigious, and ſurpaſſes every thing of the kind which we have an idea of in England. Whenever it blows, during the winter months, a froſt immediately takes place. In the courſe of three days, in the preſent inſtance, the Suſquehannah and Delaware rivers were frozen over; a fall of ſnow took place, which remained on the ground about two feet deep, and there was every appearance of a ſevere and

tedious winter. Before five days, however, were over, the wind again changed, and ſo ſudden was the thaw that the ſnow diſappeared entirely on the ſecond day, and not a veſtige of the froſt was to be ſeen, excepting in the rivers, where large pieces of ice remained floating about.

It was about the middle of December when I reached Baltimore; but I was deterred from going on to Philadelphia until the froſty weather ſhould ſet in, by the badneſs of the roads; for they were in ſuch a ſtate, that even the public ſtages were prevented from plying for the ſpace of ten or twelve days. The froſt ſoon dried them, and rendered them as good as in ſummer. I ſet out when it was moſt ſevere. At day break, the morning after I left Baltimore, the thermometer, according to Farenheit, ſtood at 7°. I never obſerved it ſo low during any other part of the winter.

Several travellers had ſtopped at the ſame houſe that I did the firſt night I was on the road, and we all breakfaſted together preparatory to ſetting out the next morning. The American travellers, before they purſued their journey, took a hearty draught each, according to cuſtom, of egg-nog, a mixture compoſed of new milk, eggs, rum, and ſugar, beat up together; they appeared to be at no ſmall pains alſo in fortifying themſelves againſt the ſeverity of the weather with great coats and wrappers over each other, woollen ſocks and trowſers over their boots, woollen mittens over their gloves, and ſilk handkerchiefs tied over their ears and mouths, &c. ſo that nothing could be ſeen excepting their noſes and their eyes. It was abſolutely a ſubject of diverſion to me, and to a young gentleman juſt arrived from the Weſt Indies, who accompanied me from Baltimore, to ſee the great care with which they wrapped themſelves up, for we both found ourſelves ſufficiently warm in common clothing. It ſeems, however, to be a matter generally allowed, that ſtrangers, even from the Weſt Indies, unaccuſtomed to intenſe cold, do not ſuffer ſo much from the ſeverity of the winter, the firſt year of their arrival in America as the white people who have been born in the country. Every perſon that we met upon the road was wrapped up much in the ſame manner as the travellers who breakfaſted with us, and had

ſilk

ſilk handkerchiefs tied round their heads, ſo as to cover their mouths and ears.

About the middle of the day we arrived at the Suſquehannah, and, as we expected to find it, the river was frozen entirely over. In what manner we were to get acroſs was now the queſtion. The people at the ferry-houſe were of opinion that the ice was not ſufficiently ſtrong to bear in every part of the river; at the ſame time they ſaid, it was ſo very thick near the ſhores, that it would be impracticable to cut a paſſage through it before the day was over; however, as a great number of travellers deſirous of getting acroſs was collected together, and as all of them were much averſe to remaining at the ferry-houſe till the next morning, by which time it was ſuppoſed that the ice would be ſtrong enough to bear in every part, the people were at laſt over-ruled, and every thing was prepared for cutting a way acroſs the river.

The paſſengers were about twelve in number, with four horſes; the boat's crew conſiſted of ſeven blacks; three of whom, with large clubs, ſtood upon the bow of the boat, and broke the ice, whilſt the others, with iron-headed poles, puſhed the boat forwards. So very laborious was the taſk which the men at the bow had to perform, that it was neceſſary for the others to relieve them every ten minutes. At the end of half an hour their hands, arms, faces, and hats, were glazed entirely over with a thick coat of ice, formed from the water which was daſhed up by the reiterated ſtrokes of their clubs. Two hours elapſed before one half of the way was broken; the ice was found much thicker than had been imagined; the clubs were ſhivered to pieces; the men were quite exhauſted; and having ſuffered the boat to remain ſtationary for a minute or two in a part where the ice was remarkably thick, it was frozen up, ſo that the utmoſt exertions of the crew and paſſengers united were unable to extricate it. In this predicament a council was held; it was impoſſible to move either backward or forward; the boat was half a mile from the ſhore; no one would attempt to walk there on the ice; to remain all night in the boat would be death. Luckily I had a pair of piſtols in my holſters, and having fired

a few ſignals, the attention of the people on ſhore was attracted towards us, and a ſmall batteau, which is a light boat with a flat bottom, was diſpatched for our relief. This was not ſent, however, for the purpoſe of bringing a ſingle perſon back again, but to aſſiſt us in getting to the oppoſite ſhore. It was ſlipped along a-head of the large boat, and two or three men having ſtepped into it, rocked it about from ſide to ſide until the ice was ſufficiently broken for the large boat to follow. The batteau was now in the water, and the men ſeating themſelves as much as poſſible towards the ſtern, by ſo doing raiſed the bow of it conſiderably above the ice; by means of boat hooks it was then pulled on the ice again, and by rocking it about as before a paſſage was as eaſily opened. In this manner we got on, and at the end of three hours and ten minutes found ourſelves again upon dry land, fully prepared for enjoying the pleaſures of a bright fireſide and a good dinner. The people at the tavern had ſeen us coming acroſs, and had accordingly prepared for our reception; and as each individual thought he had travelled quite far enough that day, the paſſengers remained together till the next morning.

At the American taverns, as I before mentioned, all ſorts of people, juſt as they happen to arrive, are crammed together into the one room, where they muſt reconcile themſelves to each other the beſt way they can. On the preſent occaſion, the company conſiſted of about thirteen people, amongſt whom were ſome eminent lawyers from Virginia and the ſouthward, together with a judge of the ſupreme court, who were going to Philadelphia againſt the approaching ſeſſions: it was not, however, till after I quitted their company that I heard who they were; for theſe kind of gentlemen in America are ſo very plain, both in their appearance and manners, that a ſtranger would not ſuſpect that they were perſons of the conſequence which they really are in the country. There were alſo in the company two or three of the neighbouring farmers, booriſh, ignorant, and obtruſive fellows. It is ſcarcely poſſible for a dozen Americans to ſit together without quarrelling about politics, and the Britiſh treaty, which had juſt been ratified, now gave riſe to a long

long and acrimonious debate. The farmers were of one opinion, and gabbled away for a long time; the lawyers and the judge were of another, and in turns they rose to answer their opponents with all the power of rhetoric which they possessed. Neither party could say any thing to change the sentiments of the other one; the noisy contest lasted till late at night, when getting heartily tired they withdrew, not to their respective chambers, but to the general one that held five or six beds, and in which they laid down in pairs. Here the conversation was again revived, and pursued with as much noise as below, till at last sleep closed their eyes, and happily their mouths at the same time; for could they have talked in their sleep, I verily believe they would have prated on until morning. Thanks to our stars! my friend and I got the only two-bedded room in the house to ourselves. The next morning I left the banks of the Susquehannah, and the succeeding day reached Philadelphia.

LETTER VII.

Philadelphia gayer in the Winter than at any other Season.—Celebration in that City of General Washington's Birth Day.—Some Account of General Washington's Person and of his Character.—Americans dissatisfied with his Conduct as President.—A Spirit of Dissatisfaction common amongst them.

MY DEAR SIR, Philadelphia, February.

PHILADELPHIA now wears a very different aspect to what it did when I landed there in the month of November. Both congress and the state assembly are sitting, as well as the supreme federal court. The city is full of strangers; the theatres are open; and a variety of public and private amusements are going forward. On General Washing-

ton's birth day, which was a few days ago, this city was unuſually gay *; every perſon of conſequence in it, Quakers alone excepted, made it a point

* On this day General Waſhington terminated his ſixty-fourth year; but though not an unhealthy man, he ſeemed conſiderably older. The innumerable vexations he has met with in his different public capacities have very ſenſibly impaired the vigour of his conſtitution, and given him an aged appearance. There is a very material difference, however, in his looks when ſeen in private and when he appears in public full dreſs; in the latter caſe the hand of art makes up for the ravages of time, and he ſeems many years younger.

Few perſons find themſelves for the firſt time in the preſence of General Waſhington, a man ſo renowned in the preſent day for his wiſdom and moderation, and whoſe name will be tranſmitted with ſuch honour to poſterity, without being impreſſed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor do theſe emotions ſubſide on a cloſer acquaintance; on the contrary, his perſon and deportment are ſuch as rather tend to augment them. There is ſomething very auſtere in his countenance, and in his manners he is uncommonly reſerved. I have heard ſome officers, that ſerved immediately under his command during the American war, ſay, that they never ſaw him ſmile during all the time that they were with him. No man has ever yet been connected with him by the reciprocal and unconſtrained ties of friendſhip; and but a few can boaſt even of having been on an eaſy and familiar footing with him.

The height of his perſon is about five feet eleven; his cheſt is full; and his limbs, though rather ſlender, well ſhaped and muſcular. His head is ſmall, in which reſpect he reſembles the make of a great number of his countrymen. His eyes are of a light grey colour; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his noſe is long. Mr. Stewart, the eminent portrait painter, told me, that there are features in his face totally different from what he ever obſerved in that of any other human being; the ſockets for the eyes, for inſtance, are larger than what he ever met with before, and the upper part of the noſe broader. All his features, he obſerved, were indicative of the ſtrongeſt and moſt ungovernable paſſions, and had he been born in the foreſts, it was his opinion that he would have been the fierceſt man amongſt the ſavage tribes. In this Mr. Stewart has given a proof of his great diſcernment and intimate knowledge of the human countenance; for although General Waſhington has been extolled for his great moderation and calmneſs, during the very trying ſituations in which he has ſo often been placed, yet thoſe who have been acquainted with him the longeſt and moſt intimately ſay, that he is by nature a man of a fierce and irritable diſpoſition, but that, like Socrates, his judgment and great ſelf-command have always made him appear a man of a different caſt in the eyes of the world. He ſpeaks with great diffidence, and ſometimes heſitates for a word; but it is always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language is manly and expreſſive. At levee, his diſcourſe with ſtrangers turns principally upon the ſubject of America; and if they have been through any remarkable places, his converſation is free and particularly intereſting, as he is intimately acquainted with every part of the country. He is much more open and free in his behaviour at levee than in private, and in the company of ladies ſtill more ſo than when ſolely with men.

General Waſhington gives no public dinners or other entertainments, except to thoſe who are in diplomatic capacities, and to a few families on terms of intimacy with Mrs. Waſhington. Strangers, with whom he wiſhes to have ſome converſation about agriculture, or any ſuch ſubject, are ſometimes invited to tea. This by many is attributed to his ſaving diſpoſition; but it is more juſt to aſcribe it to his prudence and foreſight; for as the ſalary of the preſident, as I have before obſerved, is very ſmall, and totally inadequate by itſelf to ſupport an expenſive ſtyle of life, were he to give numerous and ſplendid entertainments the ſame might poſſibly be expected from ſubſequent preſidents, who, if their private fortunes were not conſiderable, would be unable to live in the ſame ſtyle, and might be expoſed to many ill-natured obſervations, from the relinquiſhment of what the people had been accuſtomed

point to viſit the General on this day. As early as eleven o'clock in the morning he was prepared to receive them, and the audience laſted till three in the afternoon. The ſociety of the Cincinnati, the clergy, the officers of the militia, and ſeveral others, who formed a diſtinct body of citizens, came by themſelves ſeparately. The foreign miniſters attended in their richeſt dreſſes and moſt ſplendid equipages. Two large parlours were open for the reception of the gentlemen, the windows of one of which towards the ſtreet were crowded with ſpectators on the outſide. The ſideboard was furniſhed with cake and wines, whereof the viſitors partook. I never obſerved ſo much cheerfulneſs before in the countenance of General Waſhington; but it was impoſſible for him to remain inſenſible to the attention and the compliments paid to him on this occaſion.

The ladies of the city, equally attentive, paid their reſpects to Mrs. Waſhington, who received them in the drawing room up ſtairs. After having viſited the General, moſt of the gentlemen alſo waited upon her. A public ball and ſupper terminated the rejoicings of the day.

Not one town of any importance was there in the whole union, where ſome meeting did not take place in honour of this day; yet ſingular as it may appear, there are people in the country, Americans too, foremoſt in boaſting to other nations of that conſtitution which has been raiſed for them by his valour and wiſdom, who are either ſo inſenſible to his merit, or ſo totally devoid of every generous ſentiment, that they can refuſe to join in commendations of thoſe talents to which they are ſo much indebted; indeed to ſuch a length has this perverſe ſpirit been carried, that I have myſelf ſeen numbers of men, in all other points men of reſpectability, that have peremptorily refuſed even to pay him the ſmall compliment of drinking to his health after dinner; it is true in-

cuſtomed to; it is moſt likely alſo that General Waſhington has been actuated by theſe motives, becauſe in his private capacity at Mount Vernon every ſtranger meets with a hoſpitable reception from him.

General Waſhington's ſelf moderation is well known to the world already. It is a remarkable circumſtance, which redounds to his eternal honour, that while preſident of the United States he never appointed one of his own relations to any office of truſt or emolument, although he has ſeveral that are men of abilities, and well qualified to fill the moſt important ſtations in the government.

deed,

deed, that they qualify their conduct partly by asserting, that it is only as president of the United States, and not as General Washington, that they have a dislike to him; but this is only a mean subterfuge, which they are forced to have recourse to, lest their conduct should appear too strongly marked with ingratitude. During the war there were many, and not loyalists either, who were doing all in their power to remove him from that command whereby he so eminently distinguished himself. It is the spirit of dissatisfaction which forms a leading trait in the character of the Americans as a people, which produces this malevolence at present, just as it did formerly; and if their public affairs were regulated by a person sent from heaven, I firmly believe his acts, instead of meeting with universal approbation, would by many be considered as deceitful and flagitious.

LETTER VIII.

Singular Mildness of the Winter of 1795-6.—*Set out for Lancaster.*—*Turnpike Road between that Place and Philadelphia.*—*Summary View of the State of Pennsylvania.*—*Description of the Farms between Lancaster and Philadelphia.*—*The Farmers live in a penurious Style.*—*Greatly inferior to English Farmers.*—*Bad Taverns on this Road.*—*Waggons and Waggoners.*—*Customs of the latter.*—*Description of Lancaster.*—*Lately made the Seat of the State Government.*—*Manufactures carried on there.*—*Rifle Guns*—*Great Dexterity with which the Americans use them.*—*Anecdote of Two Virginian Soldiers belonging to a Rifle Regiment.*

MY DEAR SIR, Lancaster, March.

THIS winter has proved one of the mildest that has ever been experienced in the country. During the last month there were two or three slight falls of snow, but in no one instance did it remain two days on the ground. A smart frost sat in the first week of this month, and snow fell to the depth of six or seven inches; but on the third day

a ſudden thaw came on, and it quickly diſappeared: ſince then the weather has remained uncommonly mild. The ſeaſon being ſo fine, and ſo favourable for travelling, I was unwilling to ſtay at Philadelphia; accordingly I ſat out for this place on horſeback, and arrived here laſt night, at the end of the ſecond day's journey. From hence I intend to proceed towards the ſouth, to meet the approaching ſpring.

The road between Philadelphia and Lancaſter has lately undergone a thorough repair, and tolls are levied upon it, to keep it in order, under the direction of a company. Whenever theſe tolls afford a profit of more than fifteen per cent. on the ſtock originally ſubſcribed for making the road, the company is bound, by an act of aſſembly, to leſſen them. This is the firſt attempt to have a turnpike road in Pennſylvania, and it is by no means reliſhed by the people at large, particularly by the waggoners, who go in great numbers by this route to Philadelphia from the back parts of the ſtate.

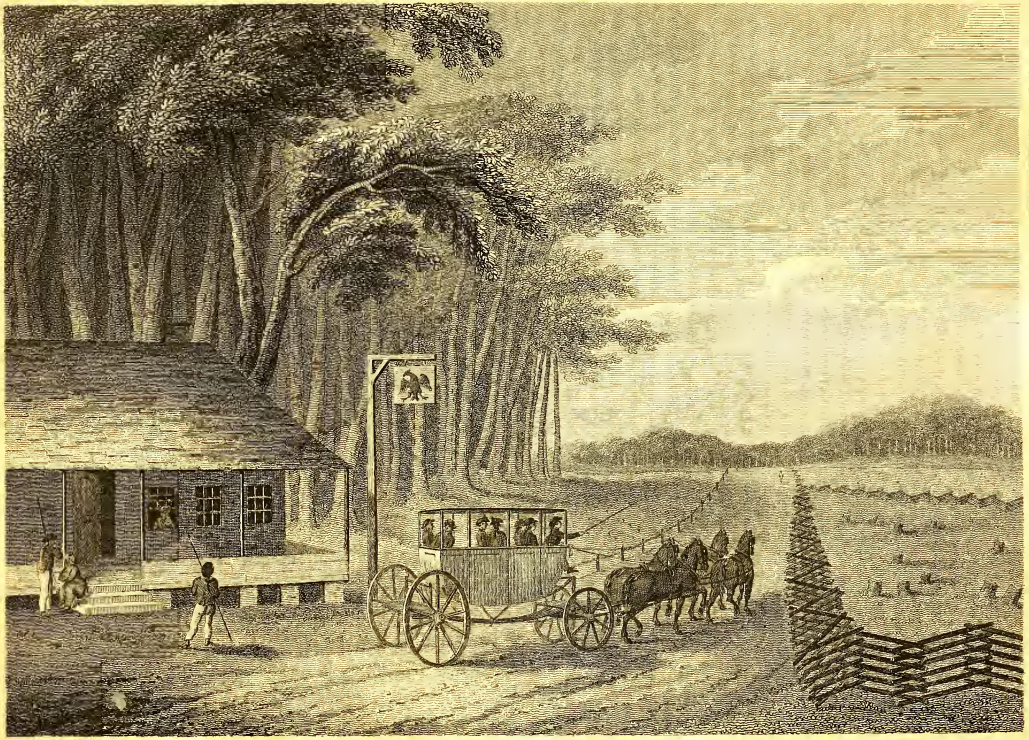
The ſtate of Pennſylvania lies nearly in the form of a parallelogram, whoſe greateſt length is from eaſt to weſt. This parallelogram is croſſed diagonally from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt by ſeveral different ridges of mountains, which are about one hundred miles in breadth. The valleys between theſe ridges contain a rich black ſoil, and in the ſouth-weſt and north-eaſt angles alſo, at the outſide of the mountains, the ſoil is very good. The northern parts of this ſtate are but very thinly inhabited as yet, but towards the ſouth, the whole way from Philadelphia to Pittſburg, it is well ſettled. The moſt populous part of it is the ſouth-eaſt corner, which lies between the mountains and the river Delaware; through this part the turnpike road paſſes which leads to Lancaſter. The country on each ſide of the road is pleaſingly diverſified with hill and dale. Cultivation is chiefly confined to the low lands, which are the richeſt; the hills are all left covered with wood, and afford a pleaſing variety to the eye. The further you go from Philadelphia the more fertile is the country, and the more picturesque at the ſame time.

On the whole road from Philadelphia to Lancaſter there are not any two dwellings ſtanding together, excepting at a ſmall place called Downing's

ing's Town, which lies about midway; numbers of farm houſes, however, are ſcattered over the country as far as the eye can reach. Theſe houſes are moſtly built of ſtone, and are about as good as thoſe uſually met with on an arable farm of fifty acres in a well cultivated part of England. The farms attached to theſe houſes contain about two hundred acres each, and are, with a few exceptions only, the property of the perſons who cultivate them. In the cultivated parts of Pennſylvania the farms rarely exceed three hundred acres; towards the north, however, where the ſettlements are but few, large tracts of land are in the hands of individuals, who are ſpeculators and land jobbers. Adjoining to the houſes there is generally a peach or an apple orchard. With the fruit they make cyder and brandy; the people have a method alſo of drying the peaches and apples, after having ſliced them, in the ſun, and thus cured they laſt all the year round. They are uſed for pies and puddings, but they have a very acrid taſte, and ſcarcely any of the original flavour of the fruit. The peaches in their beſt ſtate are but indifferent, being ſmall and dry; I never eat any that were good, excepting ſuch as were raiſed with care in gardens. It is ſaid that the climate is ſo much altered that they will not grow now as they formerly did. In April and May nightly froſts are very common, which were totally unknown formerly, and frequently the peaches are entirely blighted. Gardens are very rare in the country parts of Pennſylvania, for the farmers think the labour which they require does not afford ſufficient profit; in the neighbourhood of towns, however, they are common, and the culinary vegetables raiſed in them are equal to any of their reſpective kinds in the world, *potatoes* excepted, which generally have an earthy unpleaſant taſte.

Though the ſouth-eaſt part of the ſtate of Pennſylvania is better cultivated than any other part of America, yet the ſtyle of farming is on the whole very ſlovenly. I venture, indeed, to aſſert, that the farmers do not raiſe more on their two hundred acres than a ſkilful farmer in Norfolk, Suffolk, or Eſſex, or in any well cultivated part of England, would do on fifty acres of good land there. The farmer alſo, who rents fifty acres of arable land in England, lives far more comfortably in every

reſpect



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AMERICAN STAGE WAGGON.

Published Dec. 21 1790, by J. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

reſpect than the farmer in Pennſylvania, or in any other of the middle ſtates, who owns two hundred acres of land, his houſe will be found better furniſhed, and his table more plentifully covered. That the farmers do not live better in America, I hardly know whether to aſcribe to their love of making money, or to their real indifference about better fare; perhaps it may be owing, in ſome meaſure, to both; certain it is, however, that their mode of living is moſt wretched.

The taverns throughout this part of the country are kept by farmers, and they are all very indifferent. If the traveller can procure a few eggs with a little bacon he ought to reſt ſatisfied; it is twenty to one that a bit of freſh meat is to be had, or any ſalted meat except pork. Vegetables ſeem alſo to be very ſcarce, and when you do get any, they generally conſiſt of turnips, or turnip tops boiled by way of greens. The bread is heavy and ſour, though they have as fine flour as any in the world; this is owing to their method of making of it; they raiſe it with what they call *ſots*; hops and water boiled together. No dependance is to be placed upon getting a man at theſe taverns to rub down your horſe, or even to give him his food, frequently therefore you will have to do every thing of the kind for yourſelf if you do not travel with a ſervant; and indeed, even where men are kept for the purpoſe of attending to travellers, which at ſome of the taverns is the caſe, they are ſo ſullen and diſobliging that you feel inclined to do every thing with your own hands rather than be indebted to them for their aſſiſtance: they always appear doubtful whether they ſhould do any thing for you or not, and to be reaſoning within themſelves, whether it is not too great a departure from the rules of equality to take the horſe of another man, and whether it would not be a pleaſing ſight to ſee a gentleman ſtrip off his coat, and go to work for himſelf; nor will money make them alter their conduct; civility, as I before ſaid, is not to be purchaſed at any expence in America; nevertheleſs the people will pocket your money with the utmoſt readineſs, though without thanking you for it. Of all beings on the earth, Americans are the moſt intereſted and covetous.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to go one mile on this road without meeting numbers of waggons paſſing and repaſſing between the back parts of

the ſtate and Philadelphia. Theſe waggons are commonly drawn by four or five horſes, four of which are yoked in pairs. The waggons are heavy, the horſes ſmall, and the driver unmerciful; the conſequence of which is, that in every team, nearly, there is a horſe either lame or blind. The Pennſylvanians are notorious for the bad care which they take of their horſes. Excepting the night be tempeſtuous, the waggoners never put their horſes under ſhelter, and then it is only under a ſhed; each tavern is uſually provided with a large one for the purpoſe. Market or High-ſtreet, in Philadelphia, the ſtreet by which theſe people come into the town, is always crowded with waggons and horſes, that are left ſtanding there all night. This is to ſave money; the expence of putting them into a ſtable would be too great, in the opinion of theſe people. Food for the horſes is always carried in the waggon, and the moment they ſtop they are unyoked, and fed whilſt they are warm. By this treatment half the poor animals are foundered. The horſes are fed out of a large trough carried for the purpoſe, and fixed on the pole of the waggon by means of iron pins.

Lancaſter is the largeſt inland town in North America, and contains about nine hundred houſes, built chiefly of brick and ſtone, together with ſix churches, a court houſe, and gaol. Of the churches, there is one reſpectively for German Lutherans, German Calviniſts, Moravians, Engliſh Epiſcopalians, and Roman Catholics. The ſtreets are laid out regularly, and croſs each other at right angles.

An act of aſſembly has been paſſed, for making this town the ſeat of the ſtate government inſtead of Philadelphia, and the aſſembly was to meet in the year 1797. This circumſtance is much in favour of the improvement of the town. The Philadelphians, inimical to the meaſure, talked of it much in the ſame ſtyle that they do now of the removal of the ſeat of the federal government, ſaying, that it muſt be again changed to Philadelphia; but the neceſſity of having the ſeat of the legiſlature as central as poſſible in each ſtate is obvious, and if a change does take place again, it is moſt likely that it will only be to remove the ſeat ſtill farther from Philadelphia. On the ſame principle, the aſſembly of Virginia

ginia meets now at Richmond inſtead of Williamſburgh, and that of New York ſtate at Albany inſtead of the city of New York.

Several different kinds of articles are manufactured at Lancaſter by German mechanics, individually, principally for the people of the town and the neighbourhood. Rifled barrel guns however are to be excepted, which, although not as handſome as thoſe imported from England, are more eſteemed by the hunters, and are ſent to every part of the country.

The rifled barrel guns, commonly uſed in America, are nearly of the length of a muſket, and carry leaden balls from the ſize of thirty to ſixty in the pound. Some hunters prefer thoſe of a ſmall bore, becauſe they require but little ammunition; others prefer ſuch as have a wide bore, becauſe the wound which they inflict is more certainly attended with death; the wound, however, made by a ball diſcharged from one of theſe guns is always very dangerous. The inſide of the barrel is fluted, and the grooves run in a ſpiral direction from one end of the barrel to the other, conſequently when the ball comes out it has a whirling motion round its own axis, at the ſame time that it moves forward, and when it enters into the body of an animal, it tears up the fleſh in a dreadful manner. The beſt of powder is choſen for a rifled barrel gun, and after a proper portion of it is put down the barrel, the ball is incloſed in a ſmall bit of linen rag, well greaſed at the outſide, and then forced down with a thick ramrod. The greaſe and the bits of rag, which are called patches, are carried in a little box at the but-end of the gun. The beſt rifles are furniſhed with two triggers, one of which being firſt pulled ſets the other, that is, alters the ſpring, ſo that it will yield even to the ſlight touch of a feather. They are alſo furniſhed with double ſights along the barrel, as fine as thoſe of a ſurveying inſtrument. An experienced markſman, with one of theſe guns, will hit an object not larger than a crown piece, to a certainty, at the diſtance of one hundred yards. Two men belonging to the Virginia rifle regiment, a large diviſion of which was quartered in this town during the war, had ſuch a dependance on each other's dexterity, that the one would hold a piece of board, not more than nine inches ſquare, between his knees, whilſt

the other ſhot at it with a ball at the diſtance of one hundred paces. This they uſed to do alternately, for the amuſement of the town's people, as often as they were called upon. Numbers of people in Lancaſter can vouch for the truth of this fact. Were I, however, to tell you all the ſtories I have heard of the performances of riflemen, you would think the people were moſt abominably addicted to lying. A rifle gun will not carry ſhot, nor will it carry a ball much farther than one hundred yards with certainty.

LETTER IX.

Number of Germans in the Neighbourhood of York and Lancaſter.—How brought over.—White Slave Trade.—Cruelty frequently practiſed in the carrying it on.—Character of the German Settlers contraſted with that of the Americans.—Paſſage of the Suſquehannah between York and Lancaſter.—Great Beauty of the Proſpects along the River.—Deſcription of York.—Courts of Juſtice there.—Of the Pennſylvanian Syſtem of Judicature.

MY DEAR SIR, York, March.

I Arrived at this place, which is about twenty miles diſtant from Lancaſter, yeſterday. The inhabitants of this town, as well as thoſe of Lancaſter and of the adjoining country, conſiſt principally of Dutch and German emigrants, and their deſcendants. Great numbers of theſe people emigrate to America every year, and the importation of them forms a very conſiderable branch of commerce. They are for the moſt part brought from the Hanſe Towns and from Rotterdam. The veſſels ſail thither from America, laden with different kinds of produce, and the maſters of them, on arriving there, entice on board as many of theſe people as they can perſuade to leave their native country, without demanding any money for their paſſage. When the veſſel arrives in America, an advertiſement is put into the paper, mentioning the different

kinds of men on board, whether ſmiths, tailors, carpenters, labourers, or the like, and the people that are in want of ſuch men flock down to the veſſel; theſe poor Germans are then ſold to the higheſt bidder, and the captain of the veſſel, or the ſhip holder, puts the money into his pocket *.

There have been many very ſhocking inſtances of cruelty in the carrying on of this trade, vulgarly called "The white ſlave trade." I ſhall tell you but of one. While the yellow fever was raging in Philadelphia in the year 1793, at which time few veſſels would venture to approach nearer to the city than Fort Mifflin, four miles below it, a captain in the trade arrived in the river, and hearing that ſuch was the fatal nature of the infection, that a ſufficient number of nurſes could not be procured to attend the ſick for any ſum whatever, he conceived the philanthropic idea of ſupplying this deficiency from amongſt his paſſengers; accordingly he boldly ſailed up to the city, and advertiſed his cargo for ſale: "A few healthy ſervants, generally between ſeventeen and eighteen "years of age, are juſt arrived in the brig ———, their times will be "diſpoſed of by applying on board." The cargo, as you may ſuppoſe, did not remain long unſold. This anecdote was communicated to me by a gentleman who has the original advertiſement in his poſſeſſion.

When I tell you that people are ſold in this manner, it is not to be underſtood that they are ſold for ever, but only for a certain number of years; for two, three, four, or five years, according to their reſpective merits. A good mechanic, that underſtands a particular kind of trade, for which men are much wanted in America, has to ſerve a ſhorter time than a mere labourer, as more money will be given for his time, and the expence of his paſſage does not exceed that of any other man. During their ſervitude, theſe people are liable to be reſold at the caprice of their maſters; they are as much under dominion as negro ſlaves, and if they attempt to run away, they may be impriſoned like felons. The laws reſpecting "redemptioners," ſo are the men called that are brought

* Thouſands of people were brought from the north of Ireland in the ſame way before the war with France.

over

over in this manner, were grounded on thoſe formed for the Engliſh convicts before the revolution, and they are very ſevere. The Germans are a quiet, ſober, and induſtrious ſet of people, and are moſt valuable citizens. They generally ſettle a good many together in one place, and, as may be ſuppoſed, in conſequence keep up many of the cuſtoms of their native country as well as their own language. In Lancaſter and the neighbourhood German is the prevailing language, and numbers of people living there are ignorant of any other. The Germans are ſome of the beſt farmers in the United States, and they ſeldom are to be found but where the land is particularly good; wherever they ſettle they build churches, and are wonderfully attentive to the duties of religion. In theſe and many other reſpects the Germans and their deſcendants differ widely from the Americans, that is, from the deſcendants of the Engliſh, Scotch, Iriſh, and other nations, who, from having lived in the country for many generations, and from having mingled together, now form one people, whoſe manners and habits are very much the ſame.

The Germans are a plodding race of men, wholly intent upon their own buſineſs, and indifferent about that of others: a ſtranger is never moleſted as he paſſes through their ſettlements with inquiſitive and idle queſtions. On arriving amongſt the Americans *, however, a ſtranger muſt tell where he came from, where he is going, what his name is, what his buſineſs is, and until he gratifies their curioſity on theſe points, and many others of equal importance, he is never ſuffered to remain quiet for a moment. In a tavern he muſt ſatisfy every freſh ſet that comes in, in the ſame manner, or involve himſelf in a quarrel, eſpecially if it is found out that he is not a native, which it does not require much ſagacity to diſcover.

The Germans give themſelves but little trouble about politics; they elect their repreſentatives to ſerve in congreſs and the ſtate aſſemblies, and ſatisfied that deſerving men have been choſen by the people at large, they truſt that theſe men do what is beſt for the public good, and therefore

* In ſpeaking of the Americans here, and in the following lines, it is thoſe of the lower and middling claſſes of the people which I allude to, ſuch as are met with in the country parts of Pennſylvania.

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abide patiently by their decifions; they revere the conſtitution, conſcious that they live happily under it, and expreſs no wiſhes to have it altered. The Americans, however, are for ever cavilling at ſome of the public meaſures; ſomething or other is always wrong, and they never appear perfectly ſatisfied. If any great meaſure is before congreſs for diſcuſſion, ſeemingly diſtruſtful of the abilities or the integrity of the men they have elected, they meet together in their towns or diſtricts, canvaſs the matter themſelves, and then ſend forward inſtructions to their repreſentatives how to act. They never conſider that any important queſtion is more likely to meet with a fair diſcuſſion in an aſſembly where able men are collected together from all parts of the ſtates than in an obſcure corner, where a few individuals are aſſembled, who have no opportunity of getting general information on the ſubject. Party ſpirit is for ever creating diſſentions amongſt them, and one man is continually endeavouring to obtrude his political creed upon another. If it is found out that a ſtranger is from Great Britain or Ireland, they immediately begin to boaſt of their own conſtitution and freedom, and give him to underſtand, that they think every Engliſhman a ſlave, becauſe he ſubmits to be called a ſubject. Their opinions are for the moſt part crude and dogmatical, and principally borrowed from newſpapers, which are wretchedly compiled from the pamphlets of the day, having read a few of which, they think themſelves arrived at the ſummit of intellectual excellence, and qualified for making the deepeſt political reſearches.

The Germans, as I have ſaid, are fond of ſettling near each other: when the young men of a family are grown up, they generally endeavour to get a piece of land in the neighbourhood of their relations, and by their induſtry ſoon make it valuable; the American, on the contrary, is of a roving diſpoſition, and wholly regardleſs of the ties of conſanguinity; he takes his wife with him, goes to a diſtant part of the country, and buries himſelf in the woods, hundreds of miles diſtant from the reſt of his family, never perhaps to ſee them again. In the back parts of the country you always meet numbers of men prowling about to try and buy cheap land; having found what they like, they immediately remove; nor having once removed, are theſe people ſatisfied; reſtleſs and diſcon-

tented

tented with what they poſſeſs, they are for ever changing. It is ſcarcely poſſible in any part of the continent to find a man, amongſt the middling and lower claſſes of Americans, who has not changed his farm and his reſidence many different times. Thus it is, that though there are not more than four millions of people in the United States, yet they are ſcattered from the confines of Canada to the fartheſt extremity of Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the banks of the Miſſiſſippi. Thouſands of acres of waſte land are annually taken up in unhealthy and unfruitful parts of the country, notwithſtanding that the beſt ſettled and healthy parts of the middle ſtates would maintain five times the number of inhabitants that they do at preſent. The American, however, does not change about from place to place in this manner merely to gratify a wandering diſpoſition; in every change he hopes to make money. By the deſire of making money, both the Germans and Americans of every claſs and deſcription are actuated in all their movements; ſelf-intereſt is always uppermoſt in their thoughts; it is the idol which they worſhip, and at its ſhrine thouſands and thouſands would be found, in all parts of the country, ready to make a ſacrifice of every noble and generous ſentiment that can adorn the human mind.

In coming to this place from Lancaſter I croſſed the Suſquehannah River, which runs nearly midway between the two towns, at the ſmall village of Columbia, as better boats are kept there than at either of the ferries higher up or lower down the river. The Suſquehannah is here ſomewhat more than a quarter of a mile wide, and for a conſiderable diſtance, both above and below the ferry, it abounds with iſlands and large rocks, over which laſt the water runs with prodigious velocity: the roaring noiſe that it makes is heard a great way off. The banks riſe very boldly on each ſide, and are thickly wooded; the iſlands alſo are covered with ſmall trees, which, interſperſed with the rocks, produce a very fine effect. The ſcenery in every point of view is wild and romantic. In croſſing the river it is neceſſary to row up againſt the ſtream under the ſhore, and then to ſtrike over to the oppoſite ſide, under the ſhelter of ſome of the largeſt iſlands. As theſe rapids continue for many miles, they totally impede the navigation, excepting

cepting when there are floods in the river, at which time large rafts may be conducted down the ſtream, carrying ſeveral hundred barrels of flour. It is ſaid that the river could be rendered navigable in this neighbourhood, but the expenſe of ſuch an undertaking would be enormous, and there is little likelihood indeed that it will ever be attempted, as the Pennſylvanians are already engaged in cutting a canal below Harriſburgh, which will connect the navigable part of the river with the Schuylkill, and alſo another canal from the Schuylkill to the Delaware, by means of which a vent will be opened for the produce of the country bordering upon the Suſquehannah at Philadelphia. Theſe canals would have been finiſhed by this time if the ſubſcribers had all paid their reſpective ſhares, but at preſent they are almoſt at a ſtand for want of money.

The quantity of wild fowl that is ſeen on every part of the Suſquehannah is immenſe. Throughout America the wild fowl is excellent and plentiful; but there is one duck in particular found on this river, and alſo on Patowmac and James rivers, which ſurpaſſes all others: it is called the white or canvaſs-back duck, from the feathers between the wings being ſomewhat of the colour of canvaſs. This duck is held in ſuch eſtimation in America, that it is ſent frequently as a preſent for hundreds of miles—indeed it would be a dainty morſel for the greateſt epicure in any country.

York contains about five hundred houſes and ſix churches, and is much ſuch another town as Lancaſter. It is inhabited by Germans, by whom the ſame manufactures are carried on as at Lancaſter.

The courts of common pleas, and thoſe of general quarter ſeſſions, were holding when I reached this place; I found it difficult, therefore, at firſt, to procure accommodation, but at laſt I got admiſſion in a houſe principally taken up by lawyers. To behold the ſtrange aſſemblage of perſons that was brought together this morning in the one poor apartment which was allotted to all the lodgers was really a ſubject of diverſion. Here one lawyer had his clients in a corner of the room; there another had his; a third was ſhaving; a fourth powdering his own hair; a fifth noting his brief; and the table ſtanding in the middle of

the room, between a clamorous ſet of old men on one ſide, and three or four women in tears on the other, I and the reſt of the company, who were not lawyers, were left to eat our breakfaſt.

On entering into the courts a ſtranger is apt to ſmile at the groteſque appearance of the judges who preſide in them, and at their manners on the bench; but this ſmile muſt be ſuppreſſed when it is recollected, that there is no country, perhaps, in the world, where juſtice is more impartially adminiſtered, or more eaſily obtained by thoſe who have been injured. The judges in the country parts of Pennſylvania are no more than plain farmers, who from their infancy have been accuſtomed to little elſe than following the plough. The laws expreſsly declare that there muſt be, at leaſt, three judges reſident in every county; now as the ſalary allowed is but a mere trifle, no lawyer would accept of the office, which of courſe muſt be filled from amongſt the inhabitants *, who are all in a happy ſtate of mediocrity, and on a perfect equality with each other. The diſtrict judge, however, who preſides in the diſtrict or circuit, has a larger ſalary, and is a man of a different caſt. The diſtrict or circuit conſiſts of at leaſt three, but not more than ſix counties. The county judges, which I have mentioned, are "judges "of the court of common pleas, and by virtue of their offices alſo "juſtices of oyer and terminer, and general gaol delivery, for the trial "of capital and other offenders therein." Any two judges compoſe the court of quarter ſeſſions. Under certain regulations, eſtabliſhed by law, the accuſed party has the power of removing the proceedings into the ſupreme court, which has juriſdiction over every part of the ſtate. This ſhort account of the courts relates only to Pennſylvania: every ſtate in the union has a ſeparate code of laws for itſelf, and a diſtinct judicature.

* This is alſo the caſe in Philadelphia, where we find practiſing phyſicians and ſurgeons ſitting on the bench as judges in a court of juſtice.

LETTER X.

Of the Country near York.—Of the Soil of the Country on each Side of the Blue Mountains.—Frederic-town.—Change in the Inhabitants and in the Country as you proceed towards the Sea.—Numbers of Slaves.—Tobacco chiefly cultivated.—Inquisitiveness of the People at the Taverns.—Observations thereon.—Description of the Great Falls of the Patowmac River.—George Town.—Of the Country between that Place and Hoe's Ferry.—Poisonous Vines.—Port Tobacco.—Wretched Appearance of the Country bordering upon the Ferry.—Slaves neglected.—Passage of the Patowmac very dangerous.—Fresh Water Oysters.—Landed on a deserted Part of the Virginian Shore.—Great Hospitality of the Virginians.

Stratford, March.

IN the neighbourhood of York and Lancaster, the soil consists of a rich, brown, loamy earth; and if you proceed in a south westerly course, parallel to the Blue Mountains, you meet with the same kind of soil as far as Frederic in Maryland. Here it changes gradually to a deep reddish colour, and continues much the same along the eastern side of the mountains, all the way down to North Carolina. On crossing over the mountains, however, directly from Frederic, the same fertile brown soil, which is common in the neighbourhood of York and Lancaster, is again met with, and it is found throughout the Shenandoah Valley, and as far down as the Carolinas, on the west side of the mountains.

Between York and Frederic in Maryland there are two or three small towns; viz. Hanover, Petersburgh, and Woodsburg, but there is nothing worthy of mention in any of them. Frederic contains about seven hundred houses and five churches, two of which are for German Lutherans, one for Presbyterians, one for Calvinists, and one for Baptists. It is a flourishing town, and carries on a brisk inland trade. The arsenal of the state of Maryland is placed here, the situation being secure and central.

From Frederic I proceeded in a ſoutherly courſe through Montgomery county in Maryland. In this direction the ſoil changes to a yellowiſh ſort of clay mixed with gravel, and continues much the ſame until you come to the federal city, beyond which, as I have before mentioned, it becomes more and more ſandy as you approach the ſea coaſt. The change in the face of the country after leaving Frederic is gradual, but at the end of a day's journey a ſtriking difference is perceptible. Inſtead of well cultivated fields, green with wheat, ſuch as are met with along that rich track which runs contiguous to the mountains, large pieces of land, which have been worn out with the culture of tobacco, are here ſeen lying waſte, with ſcarcely an herb to cover them. Inſtead of the furrows of the plough, the marks of the hoe appear on the ground; the fields are overſpread with little hillocks for the reception of tobacco plants, and the eye is aſſailed in every direction with the unpleaſant ſight of gangs of male and female ſlaves toiling under the harſh commands of the overſeer. The difference in the manners of the inhabitants is alſo great. Inſtead of being amongſt the phlegmatic Germans, a traveller finds himſelf again in the midſt of an inquiſitive and prying ſet of Americans, to gratify whoſe curioſity it is always neceſſary to devote a certain portion of time after alighting at a tavern.

A traveller on arriving in America may poſſibly imagine, that it is the deſire of obtaining uſeful information which leads the people, wherever he ſtops, to accoſt him; and that the particular enquiries reſpecting the object of his purſuits, the place of his abode, and that of his deſtination, &c. are made to prepare the way for queſtions of a more general nature, and for converſation that may be attended with ſome amuſement to him; he therefore readily anſwers them, hoping in return to gain information about the country through which he paſſes; but when it is found that theſe queſtions are aſked merely through an idle and impertinent curioſity, and that by far the greater part of the people who aſk them are ignorant, booriſh fellows; when it is found that thoſe who can keep up ſome little converſation immediately begin to talk upon politics, and to abuſe every country excepting their own; when, laſtly, it is found that the people ſcarcely ever give ſatisfactory anſwers at firſt

to

to the enquiries which are made by a ſtranger reſpecting their country, but always heſitate, as if ſuſpicious that he was aſking theſe queſtions to procure ſome local information, in order to enable him to overreach them in a bargain, or to make ſome ſpeculation in land to their injury; the traveller then loſes all patience at this diſagreeable and prying diſpoſition, and feels diſpoſed to turn from them with diſguſt; ſtill, however, if he wiſhes to go through the country peaceably, and without quarrelling at every place where he ſtops, it is abſolutely neceſſary to anſwer ſome few of their queſtions.'

Having followed the high way as far as Montgomery court-houſe, which is about thirty miles from Frederic, I turned off along a bye road running through the woods, in order to ſee the great falls of Patowmac River. The view of them from the Maryland ſhore is very pleaſing, but not ſo much ſo as that from the oppoſite ſide. Having reached the river therefore cloſe to the falls, I rode along through the woods, with which its banks are covered, for ſome diſtance higher up, to a place where there was a ferry, and where I croſſed into Virginia. From the place where I landed to the falls, which is a diſtance of about three miles, there is a wild romantic path running along the margin of the river, and winding at the ſame time round the baſe of a high hill covered with lofty trees and rocks. Near to the ſhore, almoſt the whole way, there are cluſters of ſmall iſlands covered with trees, which ſuddenly oppoſing the rapid courſe of the ſtream, form very dangerous eddies, in which boats are frequently loſt when navigated by men who are not active and careful. On the ſhore prodigious heaps of white ſand are waſhed up by the waves, and in many places the path is rendered almoſt impaſſable by piles of large trees, which have been brought down from the upper country by floods, and drifted together.

The river, at the ferry which I mentioned, is about one mile and a quarter wide, and it continues much the ſame breadth as far as the falls, where it is conſiderably contracted and confined in its channel by immenſe rocks on either ſide. There alſo its courſe is very ſuddenly altered, ſo much ſo indeed, that below the falls for a ſhort diſtance it runs in an oppoſite direction from what it did above, but ſoon after it reſumes

ſumes its former courſe. The water does not deſcend perpendicularly, excepting in one part cloſe to the Virginian ſhore, where the height is about thirty feet, but comes ruſhing down with tremendous impetuoſity over a ledge of rocks in ſeveral different falls. The beſt view of the cataract is from the top of a pile of rocks about ſixty feet above the level of the water, and which, owing to the bend in the river, is ſituated nearly oppoſite to the falls. The river comes from the right, then gradually turning, precipitates itſelf down the falls, and winds along at the foot of the rocks on which you ſtand with great velocity. The rocks are of a ſlate colour, and lie in ſtrata; the ſurface of them in many places is gloſſy and ſparkling.

From hence I followed the courſe of the river downwards as far as George Town, where I again croſſed it; and after paſſing through the federal city, proceeded along the Maryland ſhore of the river to Piſcatoway, and afterwards to Port Tobacco, two ſmall towns ſituated on creeks of their own name, which run into the Patowmac. In the neighbourhood of Piſcatoway there are ſeveral very fine views of the Virginian ſhore; Mount Vernon in particular appears to great advantage.

I obſerved here great numbers of the poiſonous vines which grow about the large trees, and are extremely like the common grape vines. If handled in the morning, when the branches are moiſt with the dew, they infallibly raiſe bliſters on the hands, which it is ſometimes difficult to get rid of. Port Tobacco contains about eighty houſes, moſt of which are of wood, and very poor. There is a large Engliſh epiſcopalian church on the border of the town, built of ſtone, which formerly was an ornament to the place, but it is now entirely out of repair; the windows are all broken, and the road is carried through the church-yard over the graves, the paling that ſurrounded it having been torn down. Near the town is Mount Miſery, towards the top of which is a medicinal ſpring, remarkable in ſummer for the coldneſs of the water.

From Port Tobacco to Hoe's Ferry, on the Patowmac River, the country is flat and ſandy, and wears a moſt dreary aſpect. Nothing is to be ſeen here for miles together but extenſive plains, that have been worn

worn out by the culture of tobacco, overgrown with yellow ſedge,* and interſperſed with groves of pine and cedar trees, the dark green colour of which forms a curious contraſt with the yellow of the ſedge. In the midſt of theſe plains are the remains of ſeveral good houſes, which ſhew that the country was once very different to what it is now. Theſe were the houſes, moſt probably, of people who originally ſettled in Maryland with Lord Baltimore, but which have now been ſuffered to go to decay, as the land around them is worn out, and the people find it more to their intereſt to remove to another part of the country, and clear a piece of rich land, than to attempt to reclaim theſe exhauſted plains. In conſequence of this, the country in many of the lower parts of Maryland appears as if it had been deſerted by one half of its inhabitants.

Such a number of roads in different directions croſs over theſe flats, upon none of which there is any thing like a direction poſt, and the face of a human being is ſo rarely met with, that it is ſcarcely poſſible for a traveller to find out the direct way at once. Inſtead of twelve miles, the diſtance by the ſtraight road from Port Tobacco to the ferry, my horſe had certainly travelled twice the number before we got there. The ferry-houſe was one of thoſe old dilapidated manſions that formerly was the reſidence perhaps of ſome wealthy planter, and at the time when the fields yielded their rich crops of tobacco would have afforded ſome refreſhment to the weary traveller; but in the ſtate I found it, it was the picture of wretchedneſs and poverty. After having waited for two hours and a half for my breakfaſt, the moſt I could procure was two eggs, a pint of milk, and a bit of cake bread, ſcarcely as big as my hand, and but little better than dough. This I had alſo to divide with my ſervant, who came to inform me, that there was abſolutely nothing to eat in the houſe but what had been brought to me. I could not but mention this circumſtance to ſeveral perſons when I got

* This ſedge, as it is called, is a ſort of coarſe graſs, ſo hard that cattle will not eat it, which ſprings up ſpontaneouſly, in this part of the country, on the ground that has been left waſte; it commonly grows about two feet high; towards winter it turns yellow, and remains ſtanding until the enſuing ſummer, when a new growth diſplaces that of the former year. At its firſt ſpringing up it is of a bright green colour.

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into Virginia, and many of them informed me, that they had experienced the same treatment themselves at this house; yet this house had the name of a tavern. What the white people who inhabited it lived upon I could not discover, but it was evident that they took care of themselves. As for the poor slaves, however, of which there were many in the huts adjoining the tavern, they had a most wretched appearance, and seemed to be half starved. The men and women were covered with rags, and the children were running about stark naked.

After having got into the ferry boat, the man of the house, as if conscious that he had given me very bad fare, told me that there was a bank of oysters in the river, close to which it was necessary to pass, and that if I chose to stop the men would procure abundance of them for me. The curiosity of getting oysters in fresh water tempted me stop, and the men got near a bushel of them in a very few minutes. These oysters are extremely good when cooked, but very disagreeable eaten raw; indeed all the oysters found in America, not excepting what are taken at New York, so close to the ocean, are, in the opinion of most Europeans, very indifferent and tasteless when raw. The Americans, on their part, find still greater fault with our oysters, which they say are not fit to be eat in any shape, because they taste of copper. The Patowmac, as well as the rest of the rivers in Virginia, abounds with excellent fish of many different kinds, as sturgeon, shad, roach, herrings, &c. which form a very principal part of the food of the people living in the neighbourhood of them.

The river at the ferry is about three miles wide, and with particular winds the waves rise very high; in these cases they always tie the horses, for fear of accidents, before they set out; indeed, with the small open boats which they make use of, it is what ought always to be done, for in this country gusts of wind rise suddenly, and frequently when they are not at all expected: having omitted to take this precaution, the boat was on the point of being overset two or three different times as I crossed over.

On the Virginian shore, opposite to the ferry house from whence I sailed, there are several large creeks, which fall into the Patowmac, and

it is impoſſible to croſs theſe on horſeback, without riding thirty or forty miles up a ſandy unintereſting part of the country to the fords or bridges. As I wiſhed to go beyond theſe creeks, I therefore hired the boatmen to carry me ten miles down the Patowmac River in the ferry boat, paſt the mouths of them all; this they accordingly did, and in the afternoon I landed on the beach, not a little pleaſed at finding that I had reached the ſhore without having been under the neceſſity of ſwimming any part of the way, for during the laſt hour the horſes had not remained quiet for two minutes together, and on one or two occaſions, having got both to the ſame ſide of the boat, the trim of it was very nearly deſtroyed, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that we prevented it from being overſet.

The part of the country where I landed appeared to be a perfect wilderneſs; no traces of a road or pathway were viſible on the looſe white ſand, and the cedar and pine trees grew ſo cloſely together on all ſides, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to ſee farther forward in any direction than one hundred yards. Taking a courſe, however, as nearly as I could gueſs, in a direct line from the river up the country, at the end of an hour I came upon a narrow road, which led to a large old brick houſe, ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe I had met with on the Maryland ſhore. On enquiring here, from two blacks for a tavern, I was told there was no ſuch thing in this part of the country; that in the houſe before me no part of the family was at home; but that if I rode on a little farther, I ſhould come to ſome other gentlemen's houſes, where I could readily get accommodation. In the courſe of five or ſix miles I ſaw ſeveral more of the ſame ſort of old brick houſes, and the evening now drawing towards a cloſe, I began to feel the neceſſity of going to ſome one of them. I had ſeen no perſon for ſeveral miles to tell me who any of the owners were, and I was conſidering within myſelf which houſe I ſhould viſit, when a lively old negro, mounted on a little horſe, came galloping after me. On applying to him for information on the ſubject, he took great pains to aſſure me, that I ſhould be well received at any one of the houſes I might ſtop at; he ſaid there were no taverns in this part of the country, and ſtrongly recommended me to proceed under his guidance to

his maſter's houſe, which was but a mile farther on; "Maſſer will be "ſo glad to ſee to you," added he, "nothing can be like." Having been apprized beforehand, that it was cuſtomary in Virginia for a traveller to go without ceremony to a gentleman's houſe, when there was no tavern at hand, I accordingly took the negro's advice, and rode to the dwelling of his maſter, made him acquainted with my ſituation, and begged I might be allowed to put my horſes in his ſtable for the night. The reception, however, which this gentleman gave me, differed ſo materially from what I had been led to expect, that I was happy at hearing from him, that there was a *good* tavern at the diſtance of two miles. I apologiſed for the liberty I had taken, and made the beſt of my way to it. Inſtead of two miles, however, this tavern proved to be about three times as far off, and when I came to it, I found it to be a moſt wretched hovel; but any place was preferable to the houſe of a man ſo thoroughly devoid of hoſpitality.

The next day I arrived at this place, the reſidence of a gentleman, who, when at Philadelphia, had invited me to paſs ſome time with him whenever I viſited Virginia. Some of the neighbouring gentlemen yeſterday dined here together, and having related to them my adventures on arriving in Virginia, the whole company expreſſed the greateſt aſtoniſhment, and aſſured me that it was never known before, in that part of Virginia, that a ſtranger had been ſuffered to go away from a gentleman's houſe, where he ſtopped, to a tavern, although it was cloſe by. Every one ſeemed eager to know the name of the perſon who had given me ſuch a reception, and begged me to tell it. I did ſo, and the Virginians were ſatisfied, for the perſon was a — Scotchman, and had, it ſeems, removed from ſome town or other to the plantation on which I found him but a ſhort time before. The Virginians in the lower parts of the ſtate are celebrated for their politeneſs and hoſpitality towards ſtrangers; beyond the mountains there is a great difference in the manners of the inhabitants.

LETTER XI.

Of the Northern Neck of Virginia.—First settled by the English.—Houses built by them remaining.—Disparity of Condition amongst the Inhabitants.—Estates worked by Negroes.—Condition of the Slaves.—Worse in the Carolinas.—Lands worn out by Cultivation of Tobacco.—Mode of cultivating and curing Tobacco.—Houses in Virginia.—Those of Wood preferred.—Lower Classes of People in Virginia.—Their unhealthy Appearance.

Stratford, April.

THIS part of Virginia, situated between the Patowmac and Rappahannock rivers, is called the Northern Neck, and is remarkable for having been the birth place of many of the principal characters, which distinguished themselves in America, during the war, by their great talents, General Washington at their head. It was here that numbers of English gentlemen, who migrated when Virginia was a young colony, fixed their residence; and several of the houses which they built, exactly similar to the old manor houses in England, are still remaining, particularly in the counties of Richmond and Westmoreland. Some of these, like the houses in Maryland, are quite in ruins; others are kept in good repair by the present occupiers, who live in a style which approaches nearer to that of English country gentlemen than what is to be met with any where else on the continent, some other parts of Virginia alone excepted.

Amongst the inhabitants here and in the lower parts of Virginia there is a disparity unknown elsewhere in America, excepting in the large towns. Instead of the lands being equally divided, immense estates are held by a few individuals, who derive large incomes from them, whilst the generality of the people are but in a state of mediocrity. Most of the men also, who possess these large estates, having received liberal educations, which the others have not, the distinction between them is still more observable. I met with several in this neighbourhood, who had

been brought up at the public ſchools and univerſities in England, where, until the unfortunate war which ſeparated the colonies from her, the young men were very generally educated; and even ſtill a few are ſent there, as the veneration for that country from whence their anceſtors came, and with which they were themſelves for a long time afterwards connected, is by no means yet extinguiſhed.

There is by no means ſo great a diſparity now, however, amongſt the inhabitants of the Northern Neck, as was formerly, and it is becoming leſs and leſs perceptible every year, many of the large eſtates having been divided in conſequence of the removal of the proprietors to other parts of the country that were more healthy, and many more on account of the preſent laws of Virginia, which do not permit any one ſon to inherit the landed eſtates of the father to the excluſion of his brothers.

The principal planters in Virginia have nearly every thing they can want on their own eſtates. Amongſt their ſlaves are found tailors, ſhoemakers, carpenters, ſmiths, turners, wheelwrights, weavers, tanners, &c. I have ſeen patterns of excellent coarſe woollen cloth made in the country by ſlaves, and a variety of cotton manufactures, amongſt the reſt good nankeen. Cotton grows here extremely well; the plants are often killed by froſt in winter, but they always produce abundantly the firſt year in which they are ſown. The cotton from which nankeen is made is of a particular kind, naturally of a yelloviſh colour.

The large eſtates are managed by ſtewards and overſeers, the proprietors juſt amuſing themſelves with ſeeing what is going forward. The work is done wholly by ſlaves, whoſe numbers are in this part of the country more than double that of white perſons. The ſlaves on the large plantations are in general very well provided for, and treated with mildneſs. During three months nearly, that I was in Virginia, but two or three inſtances of ill treatment towards them came under my obſervation. Their quarters, the name whereby their habitations are called, are uſually ſituated one or two hundred yards from the dwelling houſe, which gives the appearance of a village to the reſidence of every planter in Virginia; when the eſtate, however, is ſo large as to be divided into

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ſeveral farms, then ſeparate quarters are attached to the houſe of the overſeer on each farm. Adjoining their little habitations, the ſlaves commonly have ſmall gardens and yards for poultry, which are all their own property; they have ample time to attend to their own concerns, and their gardens are generally found well ſtocked, and their flocks of poultry numerous. Beſides the food they raiſe for themſelves, they are allowed liberal rations of ſalted pork and Indian corn. Many of their little huts are comfortably furniſhed, and they are themſelves, in general, extremely well clothed. In ſhort, their condition is by no means ſo wretched as might be imagined. They are forced to work certain hours in the day; but in return they are clothed, dieted, and lodged comfortably, and ſaved all anxiety about proviſion for their offſpring. Still, however, let the condition of a ſlave be made ever ſo comfortable, as long as he is conſcious of being the property of another man, who has it in his power to diſpoſe of him according to the dictates of caprice; as long as he hears people around him talking of the bleſſings of liberty, and conſiders that he is in a ſtate of bondage, it is not to be ſuppoſed that he can feel equally happy with the freeman. It is immaterial under what form ſlavery preſents itſelf, whenever it appears there is ample cauſe for humanity to weep at the ſight, and to lament that men can be found ſo forgetful of their own ſituations, as to live regardleſs of the feelings of their fellow creatures.

With reſpect to the policy of holding ſlaves in any country, on account of the depravity of morals which it neceſſarily occaſions, beſides the many other evil conſequences attendant upon it, ſo much has already been ſaid by others, that it is needleſs here to make any comments on the ſubject.

The number of the ſlaves increaſes moſt rapidly, ſo that there is ſcarcely any eſtate but what is overſtocked. This is a circumſtance complained of by every planter, as the maintenance of more than are requiſite for the culture of the eſtate is attended with great expence. Motives of humanity deter them from ſelling the poor creatures, or turning them adrift from the ſpot where they have been born and brought up, in the midſt of friends and relations.

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What I have here ſaid, reſpecting the condition and treatment of ſlaves, appertains, it muſt be remembered, to thoſe only who are upon the large plantations in Virginia; the lot of ſuch as are unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of the lower claſs of white people, and of hard taſk-maſters in the towns, is very different. In the Carolinas and Georgia again, ſlavery preſents itſelf in very different colours from what it does even in its worſt form in Virginia. I am told, that it is no uncommon thing there, to ſee gangs of negroes ſtaked at a horſe race, and to ſee theſe unfortunate beings bandied about from one ſet of drunken gamblers to another for days together. How much to be deprecated are the laws which ſuffer ſuch abuſes to exiſt! yet theſe are the laws enacted by people who boaſt of their love of liberty and independence, and who preſume to ſay, that it is in the breaſts of Americans alone that the bleſſings of freedom are held in juſt eſtimation.

The Northern Neck, with the exception of ſome few ſpots only, is flat and ſandy, and abounds with pine and cedar trees. Some parts of it are well cultivated, and afford good crops; but theſe are ſo intermixed with extenſive tracts of waſte land, worn out by the culture of tobacco, and which are almoſt deſtitute of verdure, that on the whole the country has the appearance of barrenneſs.

This is the caſe wherever tobacco has been made the principal object of cultivation. It is not, however, ſo much owing to the great ſhare of nutriment which the tobacco plant requires, that the land is impoveriſhed, as to the particular mode of cultivating it, which renders it neceſſary for people to be continually walking between the plants from the moment they are ſet out, ſo that the ground about each plant is left expoſed to the burning rays of the ſun all the ſummer, and becomes at the end of the ſeaſon a hard beaten pathway. A ruinous ſyſtem has prevailed alſo of working the ſame piece of land year after year, till it was totally exhauſted; after this it was left neglected, and a freſh piece of land was cleared, that always produced good crops for one or two ſeaſons; but this in its turn was worn out and afterwards left waſte. Many of the planters are at length beginning to ſee the abſurdity of wearing out their lands in this manner, and now raiſe only one crop of tobacco upon a

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piece of new land, then they ſow wheat for two years, and afterwards clover. They put on from twelve to fifteen hundred buſhels of manure per acre at firſt, which is found to be ſufficient both for the tobacco and wheat; the latter is produced at the rate of about twenty buſhels per acre.

In ſome parts of Virginia, the lands left waſte in this manner throw up, in a very ſhort time, a ſpontaneous growth of pines and cedars; in which caſe, being ſhaded from the powerful influence of the ſun, they recover their former fertility at the end of fifteen or twenty years; but in other parts many years elapſe before any verdure appears upon them. The trees ſpringing up in this ſpontaneous manner uſually grow very cloſe to each other; they attain the height of fifteen or twenty feet, perhaps, in the ſame number of years; there is, however, but very little ſap in them, and in a ſhort time after they are cut down they decay.

Tobacco is raiſed and manufactured in the following manner: When the ſpring is ſo far advanced that every apprehenſion of the return of froſt is baniſhed, a convenient ſpot of ground is choſen, from twenty to one hundred feet ſquare, whereon they burn prodigious piles of wood, in order to deſtroy the weeds and inſects. The warm aſhes are then dug in with the earth, and the ſeed, which is black, and remarkably ſmall, ſown. The whole is next covered over with buſhes, to prevent birds and flies, if poſſible, from getting to it; but this, in general, proves very ineffectual; for the plant ſcarcely appears above ground, when it is attacked by a large black fly of the beetle kind, which deſtroys the leaves. Perſons are repeatedly ſent to pick off theſe flies; but ſometimes, notwithſtanding all their attention, ſo much miſchief is done that very few plants are left alive. As I paſſed through Virginia, I heard univerſal complaints of the depredations they had committed; the beds were almoſt wholly deſtroyed.

As ſoon as the young plants are ſufficiently grown, which is generally in the beginning of May, they are tranſplanted into fields, and ſet out in hillocks, at the diſtance of three or four feet from each other. Here again they have other enemies to contend with; the roots are attacked

by worms, and between the leaves and ſtem different flies depoſit their eggs, to the infallible ruin of the plant if not quickly removed; it is abſolutely neceſſary, therefore, as I have ſaid, for perſons to be continually walking between the plants in order to watch, and alſo to trim them at the proper periods. The tops are broken off at a certain height, and the ſuckers, which ſpring out between the leaves, are removed as ſoon as diſcovered. According alſo to the particular kind of tobacco which the planter wiſhes to have, the lower, the middle, or the upper leaves are ſuffered to remain. The lower leaves grow the largeſt; they are alſo milder, and more inclined to a yellow colour than thoſe growing towards the top of the plant.

When arrived at maturity, which is generally about the month of Auguſt, the plants are cut down, pegs are driven into the ſtems, and they are hung up in large houſes, built for the purpoſe, to dry. If the weather is not favourable for drying the leaves, fires are then lighted, and the ſmoke is ſuffered to circulate between the plants; this is alſo ſometimes done to give the leaves a browner colour than what they have naturally. After this they are tied up in bundles of ſix or ſeven leaves each, and thrown in heaps to ſweat; then they are again dried. When ſufficiently cured, the bundles are packed, by means of preſſes, in hogſheads capable of containing eight hundred or one thouſand pounds weight. The planters ſend the tobacco thus packed to the neareſt ſhipping town, where, before exportation, it is examined by an inſpector appointed for the purpoſe, who gives a certificate to warrant the ſhipping of it if it is ſound and merchantable, if not, he ſends it back to the owner. Some of the warehouſes to which the tobacco is ſent for inſpection are very extenſive, and ſkilful merchants can accurately tell the quality of the tobacco from knowing the warehouſe at which it has been inſpected*. Where the roads are good and dry, tobacco is

* By the laws of America, no produce which has undergone any ſort of manufacture, as flour, potaſh, tobacco, rice, &c. can be exported without inſpection, nor even put into a boat to be conveyed down a river to a ſea port. The inſpectors are all ſworn, are paid by the ſtates, and not ſuffered to take fees from any individual. This is a moſt politic meaſure; for as none but the beſt of each article can be ſent out of the country, it enhances the price of American produce in foreign markets, and increaſes the demand.

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ſent to the warehouſes in a ſingular manner: Two large pins of wood are driven into either end of the hogſhead by way of axles; a pair of ſhafts, made for the purpoſe, are attached to theſe, and the hogſhead is thus drawn along by one or two horſes; when this is done great care is taken to have the hoops very ſtrong.

Tobacco is not near ſo much cultivated now as it was formerly, the great demand for wheat having induced moſt of the planters to raiſe that grain in preference. Thoſe who raiſe tobacco and Indian corn are called planters, and thoſe who cultivate ſmall grain, farmers.

Though many of the houſes in the Northern Neck are built, as I have ſaid, of brick and ſtone, in the ſtyle of the old Engliſh manor houſes, yet the greater number there, and throughout Virginia, are of wood; amongſt which are all thoſe that have been built of late years. This is chiefly owing to a prevailing, though abſurd opinion, that wooden houſes are the healthieſt, becauſe the inſide walls never appear damp, like thoſe of brick and ſtone, in rainy weather. In front of every houſe is a porch or pent-houſe, commonly extending the whole length of the building; very often there is one alſo in the rear, and ſometimes all round. Theſe porches afford an agreeable ſhade from the ſun during ſummer. The hall, or ſaloon as it is called, is always a favourite apartment, during the hot weather, in a Virginian houſe, on account of the draught of air through it, and it is uſually furniſhed ſimilar to a parlour, with ſofas, &c.

The common people in the lower parts of Virginia have very ſallow complexions, owing to the burning rays of the ſun in ſummer, and the bilious complaints to which they are ſubject in the fall of the year. The women are far from being comely, and the dreſſes, which they wear out of doors to guard them from the ſun, make them appear ſtill more ugly than nature has formed them. There is a kind of bonnet very commonly worn, which, in particular, diſfigures them amazingly; it is made with a caul, fitting cloſe on the back part of the head, and a front ſtiffened with ſmall pieces of cane, which projects nearly two feet from the head in a horizontal direction. To look at a perſon

at one ſide, it is neceſſary for a woman wearing a bonnet of this kind to turn her whole body round.

In the upper parts of the country, towards the mountains, the women are totally different, having a healthy comely appearance.

LETTER XII.

Town of Tappahannock.—Rappahannock River.—Sharks found in it.—Country bordering upon Urbanna.—Fires common in the Woods.—Manner of ſtopping their dreadful Progreſs.—Mode of getting Turpentine from Trees.—Gloucеſter.—York Town.—Remains of the Fortifications erected here during the American War.—Houſes ſhattered by Balls ſtill remaining.—Cave in the Bank of the River.—Williamſburgh.—State Houſe in Ruins.—Statue of Lord Bottetourt.—College of William and Mary.—Condition of the Students.

Williamſburgh, April.

SINCE I laſt wrote, the greater part of my time has been ſpent at the houſes of different gentlemen in the Northern Neck. Four days ago I croſſed the Rappahannock River, which bounds the Northern Neck on one ſide, to a ſmall town called Tappahannock, or Hobb's Hole, containing about one hundred houſes. Before the war this town was in a much more flouriſhing ſtate than at preſent; that unfortunate conteſt ruined the trade of this little place, as it did that of moſt of the ſea-port towns in Virginia. The Rappahannock is about three quarters of a mile wide oppoſite the town, which is ſeventy miles above its mouth. Sharks are very often ſeen in this river. What is very remarkable, the fiſh are all found on the ſide of the river next to the town.

From Tappahannock to Urbanna, another ſmall town on the Rappahannock River, ſituated about twenty-five miles lower down, the country wears but a poor aſpect.

The road, which is level and very ſandy, runs through woods for miles together. The habitations that are ſeen from it are but few, and they are of the pooreſt deſcription. The woods chiefly conſiſt of black oak, pine, and cedar trees, which grow on land of the worſt quality only.

On this road there are many creeks to be croſſed, which empty themſelves into the Rappahannock River, in the neighbourhood of which there are extenſive marſhes, that render the adjacent country, as may be ſuppoſed, very unhealthy. Such a quantity of ſnipes are ſeen in theſe marſhes continually, that it would be hardly poſſible to fire a gun in a horizontal direction, and not kill many at one ſhot.

As I paſſed through this part of the country, I obſerved many traces of fires in the woods, which are frequent, it ſeems, in the ſpring of the year. They uſually proceed from the negligence of people who are burning bruſhwood to clear the lands, and conſidering how often they happen, it is wonderful that they are not attended with more ſerious conſequences than commonly follow. I was a witneſs myſelf to one of theſe fires, that happened in the Northern Neck. The day had been remarkably ſerene, and appearing favourable for the purpoſe, large quantities of bruſhwood had been fired in different places; in the afternoon, however, it became ſultry, and ſtreams of hot air were perceptible now and then, the uſual tokens of a guſt. About five o'clock, the horizon towards the north became dark, and a terrible whirlwind aroſe. I was ſtanding with ſome gentlemen on an eminence at the time, and perceived it gradually advancing. It carried with it a cloud of duſt, dried leaves, and pieces of rotten wood, and in many places, as it came along, it levelled the fence rails and unroofed the ſheds for the cattle. We made every endeavour, but in vain, to get to a place of ſhelter; in the courſe of two minutes the whirlwind overtook us; the ſhock was violent; it was hardly poſſible to ſtand, and difficult to breathe; the whirlwind paſſed over in about three minutes, but a ſtorm, accompanied by heavy thunder and lightning, ſucceeded, which laſted for more than half an hour. On looking round immediately after the whirlwind had paſſed, a prodigious column of fire now appeared in a part of the wood

where ſome bruſhwood had been burning, in many places the flames roſe conſiderably above the ſummit of the trees, which were of a large growth. It was a tremendous, and at the ſame time ſublime ſight. The negroes on the ſurrounding plantations were all aſſembled with their hoes, and watches were ſtationed at every corner to give the alarm if the fire appeared elſewhere, leſt the conflagration ſhould become general. To one plantation a ſpark was carried by the wind more than half a mile; happily, however, a torrent of rain in a ſhort time afterwards came pouring down, and enabled the people to extinguiſh the flames in every quarter.

When theſe fires do not receive a timely check, they ſometimes increaſe to a moſt alarming height; and if the graſs and dead leaves happen to be very dry, and the wind briſk, proceed with ſo great velocity that the ſwifteſt runners are often overtaken in endeavouring to eſcape from the flames. Indeed I have met with people, on whoſe veracity the greateſt dependance might be placed, that have aſſured me they have found it a difficult taſk, at times, to get out of the reach of them, though mounted on good horſes.

There is but one mode of ſtopping a fire of this kind, which makes ſuch a rapid progreſs along the ground. A number of other fires are kindled at ſome diſtance a head of that which they wiſh to extinguiſh, ſo as to form a line acroſs the courſe, which, from the direction of the wind, it is likely to take. Theſe are carefully watched by a ſufficient number of men furniſhed with hoes and rakes, and they are prevented from ſpreading, except on that ſide which is towards the large fire, a matter eaſily accompliſhed when attended to in the beginning. Thus the fires in a few minutes meet, and of conſequence they muſt ceaſe, as there is nothing left to feed them, the graſs and leaves being burnt on all ſides. In general there is but very little bruſhwood in the woods of America, ſo that theſe fires chiefly run along the ground; the trees, however, are often ſcorched, but it is very rare for any of them to be entirely conſumed.

The country between Urbanna and Glouceſter, a town ſituated upon York River, is neither ſo ſandy nor ſo flat as that bordering upon the

the Rappahannock. The trees, chiefly pines, are of a very large ſize, and afford abundance of turpentine, which is extracted from them in great quantities by the inhabitants, principally, however, for home conſumption. The turpentine is got by cutting a large gaſh in the tree, and ſetting a trough underneath to receive the reſinous matter diſtilled from the wound. The trees thus drained laſt but a ſhort time after they are cut down. In this neighbourhood there are numbers of ponds or ſmall lakes, ſurrounded by woods, along ſome of which the views are very pleaſing. From moſt of them are falls of water into ſome creek or river, which afford excellent ſeats for mills.

Glouceſter contains only ten or twelve houſes; it is ſituated on a neck of land nearly oppoſite to the town of York, which is at the other ſide of the river. There are remains here of one or two redoubts thrown up during the war. The river between the two places is about one mile and a half wide, and affords four fathom and a half of water.

The town of York conſiſts of about ſeventy houſes, an epiſcopalian church, and a gaol. It is not now more than one third of the ſize it was before the war, and it does not appear likely ſoon to recover its former flouriſhing ſtate. Great quantities of tobacco were formerly inſpected here; very little, however, is now raiſed in the neighbourhood, the people having got into a habit of cultivating wheat in preference. The little that is ſent for inſpection is reckoned to be of the very beſt quality, and is all engaged for the London market.

York is remarkable for having been the place where Lord Cornwallis ſurrendered his army to the combined forces of the Americans and French. A few of the redoubts, which were erected by each army, are ſtill remaining, but the principal fortifications are almoſt quite obliterated; the plough has paſſed over ſome of them, and groves of pine trees ſprung up about others, though, during the ſiege, every tree near the town was deſtroyed. The firſt and ſecond parallels can juſt be traced, when pointed out by a perſon acquainted with them in a more perfect ſtate.

In the town the houſes bear evident marks of the ſiege, and the inhabitants

habitants will not, on any account, ſuffer the holes perforated by the cannon balls to be repaired on the outſide. There is one houſe in particular, which ſtands in the ſkirt of the town, that is in a moſt ſhattered condition. It was the habitation of a Mr. Neilſon, a ſecretary under the regal government, and was made the head quarters of Lord Cornwallis when he firſt came to the town; but it ſtood ſo much expoſed, and afforded ſo good a mark to the enemy, that he was ſoon forced to quit it. Neilſon, however, it ſeems, was determined to ſtay there till the laſt, and abſolutely remained till his negro ſervant, the only perſon that would live with him in ſuch a houſe, had his brains daſhed out by a cannon ſhot while he ſtood by his ſide; he then thought it time to retire, but the houſe was ſtill continually fired at, as if it had been head quarters. The walls and roof are pierced in innumerable places, and at one corner a large piece of the wall is torn away; in this ſtate, however, it is ſtill inhabited in one room by ſome perſon or other equally fanciful as the old ſecretary. There are trenches thrown up round it, and on every ſide are deep hollows made by the bombs that fell near it. Till within a year or two the broken ſhells themſelves remained; but the New England men that traded to York finding they would ſell well as old iron, dug them up, and carried them away in their ſhips.

The banks of the river, where the town ſtands, are high and inacceſſible, excepting in a few places; the principal part of the town is built on the top of them; a few fiſhing huts and ſtorehouſes merely ſtand at the bottom. A cave is ſhewn here in the banks, deſcribed by the people as having been the place of head-quarters during the ſiege, after the cannonade of the enemy became warm; but in reality it was formed and hung with green baize for a lady, either the wife or acquaintance of an officer, who was terrified with the idea of remaining in the town, and died of fright after her removal down to the cave.

Twelve miles from York, to the weſtward, ſtands Williamſburgh, formerly the ſeat of government in Virginia. Richmond was fixed upon during the war as a more ſecure place, being farther removed from the ſea coaſt, and not ſo much expoſed to depredations if an enemy were to land unexpectedly. Richmond alſo had the advantage of being ſituated at the

head

head of a navigable river, and was therefore likely to increaſe to a ſize which the other never could attain. It is wonderful, indeed, what could have induced people to fix upon the ſpot where Williamſburgh ſtands for a town, in the middle of a plain, and one mile and a half removed from any navigable ſtream, when there were ſo many noble rivers in the neighbourhood.

The town conſiſts of one principal ſtreet, and two others which run parallel to it. At one end of the main ſtreet ſtands the college, and at the other end the old capitol or ſtatehouſe, a capacious building of brick, now crumbling to pieces from negligence. The houſes around it are moſtly uninhabited, and preſent a melancholy picture. In the hall of the capitol ſtands a maimed ſtatue of lord Botetourt, one of the regal governors of Virginia, erected at the public expence, in memory of his lordſhip's equitable and popular adminiſtration. During the war, when party rage was at its higheſt pitch, and every thing pertaining to royalty obnoxious, the head and one arm of the ſtatue were knocked off; it now remains quite expoſed, and is more and more defaced every day. Whether the motto, "*Reſurgo rege favente*," inſcribed under the coat of arms, did or did not help to bring upon it its preſent fate, I cannot pretend to ſay; as it is, it certainly remains a monument of the extinction of monarchical power in America.

The college of William and Mary, as it is ſtill called, ſtands at the oppoſite end of the main ſtreet; it is a heavy pile, which bears, as Mr. Jefferſon, I think, ſays, "a very cloſe reſemblance to a large brick kiln, excepting that it has a roof." The ſtudents were about thirty in number when I was there: from their appearance one would imagine that the ſeminary ought rather to be termed a grammar ſchool than a college; yet I underſtand the viſiters, ſince the preſent revolution, finding it full of young boys juſt learning the rudiments of Greek and Latin, a circumſtance which conſequently deterred others more advanced from going there, dropped the profeſſorſhips for theſe two languages, and eſtabliſhed others in their place. The profeſſorſhips, as they now ſtand, are for law, medicine, natural and moral philoſophy, mathematics, and modern languages. The biſhop of Virginia is preſident of the college, and has

has apartments in the buildings. Half a dozen or more of the ſtudents, the eldeſt about twelve years old, dined at his table one day that I was there; ſome were without ſhoes or ſtockings, others without coats. During dinner they conſtantly roſe to help themſelves at the ſide board. A couple of diſhes of ſalted meat, and ſome oyſter ſoup, formed the whole of the dinner. I only mention this, as it may convey ſome little idea of American colleges and American dignitaries.

The epiſcopalian church, the only one in the place, ſtands in the middle of the main ſtreet; it is much out of repair. On either ſide of it is an extenſive green, ſurrounded with neat looking houſes, which bring to mind an Engliſh village.

The town contains about twelve hundred inhabitants, and the ſociety in it is thought to be more extenſive and more genteel at the ſame time than what is to be met with in any other place of its ſize in America. No manufactures are carried on here, and ſcarcely any trade.

There is an hoſpital here for lunatics, but it does not appear to be well regulated.

LETTER XIII.

Hampton.—Ferry to Norfolk.—Danger in croſſing the numerous Ferries in Virginia.—Norfolk.—Laws of Virginia injurious to the Trading Intereſt.—Streets narrow and dirty in Norfolk.—Yellow Fever there.—Obſervations on this Diſorder.—Violent Party Spirit amongſt the Inhabitants.—Few Churches in Virginia.—Several in Ruins.—Private Grave Yards.

Norfolk, April.

FROM Williamſburgh to Hampton the country is flat and unintereſting. Hampton is a ſmall town, ſituated at the head of a bay, near the mouth of James River, which contains about thirty houſes and an epiſcopalian church. A few ſea boats are annually built here; and corn and lumber are exported annually to the value of about forty-two thouſand dollars. It is a dirty diſagreeable place, always infeſted by a ſhocking ſtench from a muddy ſhore when the tide is out.

From this town there is a regular ferry to Norfolk, acroſs Hampton roads, eighteen miles over. I was forced to leave my horſes here behind me for ſeveral days, as all the flats belonging to the place had been ſent up a creek ſome miles for ſtaves, &c. and they had no other method of getting horſes into the ferry boats, which were too large to come cloſe into ſhore, excepting by carrying them out in theſe flats, and then making them leap on board. It is a moſt irkſome piece of buſineſs to croſs the ferries in Virginia; there is not one in ſix where the boats are good and well manned, and it is neceſſary to employ great circumſpection in order to guard againſt accidents, which are but too common. As I paſſed along I heard of numberleſs recent inſtances of horſes being drowned, killed, and having their legs broken, by getting in and out of the boats.

Norfolk ſtands nearly at the mouth of the eaſtern branch of Elizabeth River, the moſt ſouthern of thoſe which empty themſelves into the Cheſapeak Bay. It is the largeſt commercial town in Virginia, and

carries on a flouriſhing trade to the Weſt Indies. The exports conſiſt principally of tobacco, flour, and corn, and various kinds of lumber; of the latter it derives an inexhauſtible ſupply from the Diſmal Swamp, immediately in the neighbourhood.

Norfolk would be a place of much greater trade than it is at preſent, were it not for the impolicy of ſome laws which have exiſted in the ſtate of Virginia. One of theſe laws, ſo injurious to commerce, was paſſed during the war. By this law it was enacted, that all merchants and planters in Virginia, who owed money to Britiſh merchants, ſhould be exonerated from their debts if they paid the money due into the public treaſury inſtead of ſending it to Great Britain; and all ſuch as ſtood indebted were invited to come forward, and give their money in this manner, towards the ſupport of the conteſt in which America was then engaged.

The treaſury at firſt did not become much richer in conſequence of this law; for the Virginian debtor, individually, could gain nothing by paying the money that he owed into the treaſury, as he had to pay the full ſum which was due to the Britiſh merchant; on the contrary, he might loſe conſiderably: his credit would be ruined in the eyes of the Britiſh merchant by ſuch a meaſure, and it would be a great impediment to the renewal of a commercial intercourſe between them after the concluſion of the war.

However, when the continental paper money became ſo much depreciated, that one hundred paper dollars were not worth one in ſilver, many of the people, who ſtood deeply indebted to the merchants in Great Britain, began to look upon the meaſure in a different point of view; they now ſaw a poſitive advantage in paying their debts into the treaſury in theſe paper dollars, which were a legal tender; accordingly they did ſo, and in conſequence were exonerated of their debts by the laws of their country, though in reality they had not paid more than one hundredth part of them. In vain did the Britiſh merchant ſue for his money when hoſtilities were terminated; he could obtain no redreſs in any court of juſtice in Virginia. Thus juggled out of his property he naturally became diſtruſtful of the Virginians; he refuſed to trade with them on the ſame terms as

with

with the people of the other ſtates, and the Virginians have conſequently reaped the fruits of their very diſhonourable conduct *.

Another law, baneful in the higheſt degree to the trading intereſt, is one which renders all landed property inviolable. This law has induced numbers to run into debt; and as long as it exiſts foreigners will be cautious of giving credit to a large amount to men who, if they chuſe to purchaſe a tract of land with the goods or money entruſted to their care, may ſit down upon it ſecurely, out of the reach of all their creditors, under protection of the laws of the country. Owing to this law they have not yet been enabled to get a bank eſtabliſhed in Norfolk, though it would be of the utmoſt importance to the traders. The directors of the bank of the United States have always peremptorily refuſed to let a branch of it be fixed in any part of Virginia whilſt this law remains. In Boſton, New York, Baltimore, Charleſton, &c. there are branches of the bank of the United States, beſides other banks, eſtabliſhed under the ſanction of the ſtate legiſlature.

Repeated attempts have been made in the ſtate aſſembly to get this laſt mentioned law repealed, but they have all proved ineffectual. The debates have been very warm on the buſineſs, and the names of the majority, who voted for the continuation of it, have been publiſhed, to expoſe them if poſſible to infamy; but ſo many have ſheltered themſelves under its ſanction, and ſo many ſtill find an intereſt in its continuance, that it is not likely to be ſpeedily repealed.

The houſes in Norfolk are about five hundred in number; by far the greater part of them are of wood, and but meanly built. Theſe have all been erected ſince the year 1776, when the town was totally deſtroyed by fire, by the order of Lord Dunmore, then regal governor of Virginia. The loſſes ſuſtained on that occaſion were eſtimated at £.300,000 ſterling. Towards the harbour the ſtreets are narrow and irregular; in

* In February 1796, this nefarious buſineſs was at laſt brought before the ſupreme court of the United States in Philadelphia, by the agents of the Britiſh merchants, and the deciſion of the judges was ſuch as redounded to their honour; for they declared that theſe debts ſhould all be paid over again, bona fide, to the Britiſh merchant.

the other parts of the town they are tolerably wide; none of them are paved, and all are filthy; indeed, in the hot months of ſummer, the ſtench that proceeds from ſome of them is horrid. That people can be thus inattentive to cleanlineſs, which is ſo conducive to health, and in a town where a ſixth part of the people died in one year of a peſtilential diſorder, is moſt wonderful!! *

Amongſt

* The yellow fever, which has committed ſuch dreadful ravages of late years in America, is certainly to be conſidered as a ſort of plague. It firſt appeared at Philadelphia in the year 1793; in 1794 it appeared at Baltimore; in 1795, at New York and Norfolk; and in 1796, though the matter was huſhed up as much as poſſible, in order to prevent an alarm, ſimilar to that which had injured the city ſo much the preceding year, yet in New York a far greater number of deaths than uſual were heard of during the ſummer and autumn, ſtrongly ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by the ſame malignant diſorder.

The accounts given of the calamitous conſequences attendant upon it, in theſe different places, are all much alike, and nearly ſimilar to thoſe given of the plague:—The people dying ſuddenly, and under the moſt ſhocking circumſtances—ſuch as were well flying away—the ſick abandoned, and periſhing for want of common neceſſaries—the dead buried in heaps together without any ceremony—charity at an end—the ties of friendſhip and conſanguinity diſregarded by many—others, on the contrary, nobly coming forward, and at the hazard of their own lives doing all in their power to relieve their fellow citizens, and avert the general woe.——At Philadelphia, in the ſpace of about three months, no leſs than four thouſand inhabitants were ſwept off by this dreadful malady, a number, at that time, amounting to about one tenth of the whole. Baltimore and New York did not ſuffer ſo ſeverely; but at Norfolk, which is computed to contain about three thouſand people, no leſs than five hundred fell victims to it.

The diſorder has been treated very differently by different phyſicians, and as ſome few have ſurvived under each ſyſtem that has been tried, no general one has yet been adopted. I was told, however, by ſeveral people in Norfolk, who reſided in the moſt ſickly part of the town during the whole time the fever laſted, that as a preventative medicine, a ſtrong mercurial purge was very generally adminiſtered, and afterwards Peruvian bark; and that few of thoſe who had taken this medicine were attacked by the fever. All however that can be done by medicine to ſtop the progreſs of the diſorder, when it has broke out in a town, ſeems to be of no very great effect; for as long as the exceſſive hot weather laſts the fever rages, but it regularly diſappears on the approach of cold weather. With regard to its origin there have been alſo various opinions; ſome have contended that it was imported into every place where it appeared from the Weſt Indies; others, that it was generated in the country. Theſe opinions have been ably ſupported on either ſide of the queſtion by medical men, who reſided at the different places where the fever has appeared. There are a few notorious circumſtances, however, which lead me, as an individual, to think that the fever has been generated on the American continent. In the firſt place, the fever has always broken out in thoſe parts of towns which were moſt cloſely built, and where the ſtreets have been ſuffered through negligence to remain foul and naſty; in the ſecond place, it has regularly broken out during the hotteſt time of the year, in the months of July and Auguſt, when the air on the American coaſt is for the moſt part ſtagnant and ſultry, and when vegetable and animal matter becomes putrid in an incredible ſhort ſpace of time; thirdly, numbers of people died of the diſorder in New York, in the year 1796, notwithſtanding that every Weſt Indian veſſel which entered the port that ſeaſon was examined by the health

Amongſt the inhabitants are great numbers of Scotch and French. The latter are almoſt entirely from the Weſt Indies, and principally from St. Domingo. In ſuch prodigious numbers did they flock over after the Britiſh forces had got footing in the French iſlands, that between two and three thouſand were in Norfolk at one time; moſt of them, however, afterwards diſperſed themſelves throughout different parts of the country; thoſe who ſtaid in the town opened little ſhops of different kinds, and amongſt them I found many who had been in affluent circumſtances before they were driven from their homes.

A ſtrong party ſpirit has always been prevalent amongſt the American inhabitants of this town; ſo much ſo that a few years ago, when ſome Engliſh and French veſſels of war were lying in Hampton roads, and the ſailors, from each, on ſhore, the whole people were up and ready to join them, on the one ſide or the other, in open conteſt; but the mayor drew out the militia, and ſent them to their reſpective homes.

Here are two churches, one for epiſcopalians, the other for methodiſts. In the former, ſervice is not performed more than once in two or three weeks, and very little regard is paid by the people in general to Sunday. Indeed, throughout the lower parts of Virginia, that is, between the mountains and the ſea, the people have ſcarcely any ſenſe of religion, and in the country parts the churches are all falling into decay. As I rode along, I ſcarcely obſerved one that was not in a ruinous condition, with the windows broken, and doors dropping off the hinges, and lying open to the pigs and cattle wandering about the woods; yet many of theſe were not paſt repair. The churches in Virginia, excepting ſuch as are in towns, ſtand for the moſt part in the woods, retired from any houſes, and it does not appear that any perſons are appointed to pay the ſmalleſt attention to them.

A cuſtom prevails in Norfolk, of private individuals holding grave yards, which are looked upon as a very lucrative kind of property, the

health officer, a regular bred phyſician, and that every one ſuſpected was obliged to perform quarantine. The people in New York are ſo fully perſuaded that the fever originates in America from putrid matter, that they have ſtopped up one or two docks, which were receptacles for the filth of the neighbourhood, and which contaminated the air when the tide was out.

owners

owners receiving conſiderable fees annually for giving permiſſion to people to bury their dead in them. It is very common alſo to ſee, in the large plantations in Virginia, and not far from the dwelling houſe, cemeteries walled in, where the people of the family are all buried. Theſe cemeteries are generally built adjoining the garden.

LETTER XIV.

Deſcription of Diſmal Swamp.—Wild Men found in it.—Bears, Wolves, &c.—Country between Swamp and Richmond.—Mode of making Tar and Pitch.—Poor Soil.—Wretched Taverns.—Corn Bread.—Difficulty of getting Food for Horſes.—Peterſburgh.—Horſe Races there.—Deſcription of Virginian Horſes.—Stile of Riding in America.—Deſcription of Richmond, Capital of Virginia.—Singular Bridge acroſs James River.—State Houſe.—Falls of James River.—Gambling common in Richmond.—Lower Claſſes of People very quarrelſome.—Their Mode of Fighting.—Gouging.

Richmond, May.

FROM Norfolk I went to look at the great Diſmal Swamp, which commences at the diſtance of nine miles from the town, and extends into North Carolina, occupying in the whole about one hundred and fifty thouſand acres. This great tract is entirely covered with trees; juniper and cypreſs trees grow where there is moſt moiſture, and on the dry parts, white and red oaks and a variety of pines.

Theſe trees grow to a moſt enormous ſize, and between them the bruſhwood ſprings up ſo thick that the ſwamp in many parts is abſolutely impervious. In this reſpect it differs totally from the common woods in the country. It abounds alſo with cane reeds, and with long rich graſs, upon which cattle feed with great avidity, and become fat in a very ſhort ſpace of time; the canes, indeed, are conſidered to be the very beſt green

green food that can be given to them. The people who live on the borders of the ſwamp drive all their cattle into it to feed; care however is taken to train them to come back regularly to the farms every night by themſelves, otherwiſe it would be impoſſible to find them. This is effected by turning into the ſwamp with them, for the firſt few weeks they are ſent thither to feed, two or three old milch cows accuſtomed to the place, round whoſe necks are faſtened ſmall bells. The cows come back every evening to be milked; the reſt of the cattle herd with theſe, following the noiſe of the bells, and when they return to the farm a handful of ſalt, or ſomething of which they are equally fond, is given to each as an inducement for them to return again. In a ſhort time the cattle become familiar with the place, and having been accuſtomed from the firſt day to return, they regularly walk to the farms every evening.

In the interior parts of the ſwamp large herds of wild cattle are found, moſt probably originally loſt on being turned in to feed. Bears, wolves, deer, and other wild indigenous animals are alſo met with there. Stories are common in the neighbourhood of wild men having been found in it, who were loſt, it is ſuppoſed, in the ſwamp when children.

The ſwamp varies very much in different parts; in ſome the ſurface of it is quite dry, and firm enough to bear a horſe; in others it is overflowed with water; and elſewhere ſo miry that a man would ſink up to his neck if he attempted to walk upon it; in the drieſt part, if a trench is cut only a few feet deep, the water guſhes in, and it is filled immediately. Where the canal to connect the water of Albemarle Sound with Norfolk is cut, the water in many places flows in from the ſides, at the depth of three feet from the ſurface, in large ſtreams, without intermiſſion; in its colour it exactly reſembles brandy, which is ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the roots of the juniper trees; it is perfectly clear however, and by no means unpalatable; it is ſaid to poſſeſs a diuretic quality, and the people in the neighbourhood, who think it very wholeſome, prefer it to any other. Certainly there is ſomething very uncommon in the nature of this ſwamp, for the people living upon the

borders

borders of it do not ſuffer by fever and ague, or bilious complaints, as is generally the caſe with thoſe reſident in the neighbourhood of other ſwamps and marſhes. Whether it is the medicinal quality of the water, however, which keeps them in better health or not, I do not pretend to determine.

As the Diſmal Swamp lies ſo very near to Norfolk, where there is a conſtant demand for ſhingles, ſtaves, &c. for exportation, and as the very beſt of theſe different articles are made from the trees growing upon the ſwamp, it of courſe becomes a very valuable ſpecies of property. The canal which is now cutting through it will alſo enhance its value, as when it is completed, lumber can then be readily ſent from the remoteſt parts. The more ſouthern parts of it, when cleared, anſwer uncommonly well for the culture of rice; but in the neighbourhood of Norfolk, as far as ten feet deep from the ſurface, there ſeems to be nothing but roots and fibres of different herbs mixed with a whitiſh ſand, which would not anſwer for the purpoſe, as rice requires a very rich ſoil. The trees, however, that grow upon it, are a moſt profitable crop, and inſtead of cutting them all down promiſcuouſly, as commonly is done, they only fell ſuch as have attained a large ſize, by which means they have a continued ſucceſſion for the manufacture of thoſe articles I mentioned. Eighty thouſand acres of the ſwamp are the property of a company incorporated under the title of "The Diſmal Swamp Company." Before the war broke out a large number of negroes was conſtantly employed by the company in cutting and manufacturing ſtaves, &c. and their affairs were going on very proſperouſly; but at the time that Norfolk was burnt they loſt all their negroes, and very little has been done by them ſince. The lumber that is now ſent to Norfolk is taken principally off thoſe parts of the ſwamp which are private property.

From the Diſmal Swamp to Richmond, a diſtance of about one hundred and forty miles, along the ſouth ſide of James River, the country is flat and ſandy, and for miles together entirely covered with pine trees. In Nanſemonde county, bordering on the ſwamp, the ſoil is ſo poor that but very little corn or grain is raiſed; it anſwers well however for peach orchards, which are found to be very profitable. From the

peaches they make brandy, and when properly matured it is an excellent liquor, and much eſteemed; they give it a very delicious flavour in this part of the country by infuſing dried pears in it. Spirit and water is the univerſal beverage throughout Virginia. They alſo make conſiderable quantities of tar and pitch from the pine trees. For this purpoſe a ſort of pit is dug, in which they burn large piles of the trees. The tar runs out, and is depoſited at the bottom of the pit, from whence it is taken, cleared of the bits of charcoal that may be mixed with it and put into barrels. The tar, inſpiſſated by boiling, makes pitch.

The accommodation at the taverns along this road I found moſt wretched; nothing was to be had but rancid fiſh, fat ſalt pork, and bread made of Indian corn. For this indifferent fare alſo I had to wait oftentimes an hour or two. Indian corn bread, if well made, is tolerably good, but very few people can reliſh it on the firſt trial; it is a coarſe, ſtrong kind of bread, which has ſomething of the taſte of that made from oats. The beſt way of preparing it is in cakes; the large loaves made of it are always like dough in the middle. There is a diſh alſo which they make of Indian corn, very common in Virginia and Maryland, called "hominy." It conſiſts of pounded Indian corn and beans boiled together with milk till the whole maſs becomes firm. This is eat, either hot or cold, with bacon, or with other meat.

As for my horſes, they were almoſt ſtarved. Hay is ſcarcely ever made uſe of in this part of the country, but in place of it they feed their cattle upon fodder, that is, the leaves of the Indian corn plant. Not a bit of fodder, however, was to be had on the whole road from Norfolk to Richmond, excepting at two places; and the ſeaſon having been remarkably dry, the little graſs that had ſprung up had been eat down every where by the cattle in the country. Oats were not to be had on any terms; and Indian corn was ſo ſcarce, that I had frequently to ſend to one or two different houſes before I could get even ſufficient to give one feed each to my horſes. The people in the country endeavoured to account for this ſcarcity from the badneſs of the harveſt the preceding year; but the fact, I believe, was, that corn for exportation having been in great demand, and a moſt enormous price offered for it, the

people had been tempted to diſpoſe of a great deal more than they could well ſpare. Each perſon was eager to ſell his own corn to ſuch advantage, and depended upon getting ſupplied by his neighbour, ſo that they were all reduced to want.

Peterſburgh ſtands at the head of the navigable part of Appamatox River, and is the only place of conſequence ſouth of James River, between Norfolk and Richmond. The reſt of the towns, which are but very ſmall, ſeem to be faſt on the decline, and preſent a miſerable and melancholy appearance. The houſes in Peterſburgh amount to about three hundred; they are built without any regularity. The people who inhabit them are moſtly foreigners; ten families are not to be found in the town that have been born in it. A very flouriſhing trade is carried on in this place. About two thouſand four hundred hogſheads of tobacco are inſpected annually at the warehouſes; and at the falls of the Appamatox River, at the upper end of the town, are ſome of the beſt flour mills in the ſtate.

Great crowds were aſſembled at this place, as I paſſed through, attracted to it by the horſe races, which take place four or five times in the year. Horſe racing is a favourite amuſement in Virginia; and it is carried on with ſpirit in different parts of the ſtate. The beſt bred horſes which they have are imported from England; but ſtill ſome of thoſe raiſed at home are very good. They uſually run for purſes made up by ſubſcription. The only particular circumſtance in their mode of carrying on their races in Virginia is, that they always run to the left; the horſes are commonly rode by negro boys, ſome of whom are really good jockies.

The horſes in common uſe in Virginia are all of a light deſcription, chiefly adapted for the ſaddle; ſome of them are handſome, but they are for the moſt part ſpoiled by the falſe gaits which they are taught. The Virginians are wretched horſemen, as indeed are all the Americans I ever met with, excepting ſome few in the neighbourhood of New York. They ſit with their toes juſt under the horſe's noſe, their ſtirrups being left extremely long, and the ſaddle put about three or four inches forward on the mane. As for the management of the reins, it is

what they have no conception of. A trot is odious to them, and they expreſs the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at a perſon who can like that uneaſy gait, as they call it. The favourite gaits which all their horſes are taught, are a pace and a *wrack*. In the firſt, the animal moves his two feet on one ſide at the ſame time, and gets on with a ſort of ſhuffling motion, being unable to ſpring from the ground on theſe two feet as in a trot. We ſhould call this an unnatural gait, as none of our horſes would ever move in that manner without a rider; but the Americans inſiſt upon it that it is otherwiſe, becauſe many of their foals pace as ſoon as born. Theſe kind of horſes are called "natural pacers," and it is a matter of the utmoſt difficulty to make them move in any other manner; but it is not one horſe in five hundred that would pace without being taught. In the wrack, the horſe gallops with his fore feet, and trots with thoſe behind. This is a gait equally devoid of grace with the other, and equally contrary to nature; it is very fatiguing alſo to the horſe; but the Virginian finds it more conducive to his eaſe than a fair gallop, and this circumſtance baniſhes every other conſideration.

The people in this part of the country, bordering upon James River, are extremely fond of an entertainment which they call a barbacue. It conſiſts in a large party meeting together, either under ſome trees, or in a houſe, to partake of a ſturgeon or pig roaſted in the open air, on a ſort of hurdle, over a ſlow fire; this, however, is an entertainment chiefly confined to the lower ranks, and, like moſt others of the ſame nature, it generally ends in intoxication.

Richmond, the capital of Virginia, is ſituated immediately below the falls of James River, on the north ſide. The river oppoſite to the town is about four hundred yards wide, and is croſſed by means of two bridges, which are ſeparated by an iſland that lies nearly in the middle of the river. The bridge, leading from the ſouth ſhore to the iſland, is built upon fifteen large flat bottomed boats, kept ſtationary in the river by ſtrong chains and anchors. The bows of them, which are very ſharp, are put againſt the ſtream, and fore and aft there is a ſtrong beam, upon which the piers of the bridge reſt. Between the iſland and the town, the water being ſhallower, the bridge is built upon

piers formed of ſquare caſements of logs filled with ſtones. To this there is no railing, and the boards with which it is covered are ſo looſe, that it is dangerous to ride a horſe acroſs it that is not accuſtomed to it. The bridges thrown acroſs this river, oppoſite the town, have repeatedly been carried away; it is thought idle, therefore, to go to the expence of a better one than what exiſts at preſent. The ſtrongeſt ſtone bridge could hardly reſiſt the bodies of ice that are hurried down the falls by the floods on the breaking up of a ſevere winter.

Though the houſes in Richmond are not more than ſeven hundred in number, yet they extend nearly one mile and a half along the banks of the river. The lower part of the town, according to the courſe of the river, is built cloſe to the water, and oppoſite to it lies the ſhipping; this is connected with the upper town by a long ſtreet, which runs parallel to the courſe of the river, about fifty yards removed from the banks. The ſituation of the upper town is very pleaſing; it ſtands on an elevated ſpot, and commands a fine proſpect of the falls of the river, and of the adjacent country on the oppoſite ſide. The beſt houſes ſtand here, and alſo the capitol or ſtatehouſe. From the oppoſite ſide of the river this building appears extremely well, as its defects cannot be obſerved at that diſtance, but on a cloſer inſpection it proves to be a clumſy ill ſhapen pile. The original plan was ſent over from France by Mr. Jefferſon, and had great merit; but his ingenious countrymen thought they could improve it, and to do ſo placed what was intended for the attic ſtory, in the plan, at the bottom, and put the columns on the top of it. In many other reſpects, likewiſe, the plan was inverted. This building is finiſhed entirely with red brick; even the columns themſelves are formed of brick; but to make them appear like ſtone, they have been partially whitened with common whitewaſh. The inſide of the building is but very little better than its exterior part. The principal room is for the houſe of repreſentatives; this is uſed alſo for divine ſervice, as there is no ſuch thing as a church in the town. The veſtibule is circular, and very dark; it is to be ornamented with a ſtatue of General Waſhington, executed by an eminent artiſt in France, which

which arrived while I was in the town. Ugly and ill contrived as this building is, a ſtranger muſt not attempt to find fault with any part of it, for it is looked upon by the inhabitants as a moſt elegant fabric.

The falls in the river, or the rapids, as they ſhould be called, extend ſix miles above the city, in the courſe of which there is a deſcent of about eighty feet. The river is here full of large rocks, and the water ruſhes over them in ſome places with great impetuoſity. A canal is completed at the north ſide of theſe falls, which renders the navigation complete from Richmond to the Blue Mountains, and at particular times of the year, boats with light burthens can proceed ſtill higher up. In the river, oppoſite the town, are no more than ſeven feet water, but ten miles lower down about twelve feet. Moſt of the veſſels trading to Richmond unlade the greater part of their cargoes at this place into river craft, and then proceed up to the town. Trade is carried on here chiefly by foreigners, as the Virginians have but little inclination for it, and are too fond of amuſement to purſue it with much ſucceſs.

Richmond contains about four thouſand inhabitants, one half of whom are ſlaves. Amongſt the freemen are numbers of lawyers, who, with the officers of the ſtate government, and ſeveral that live retired on their fortunes, reſide in the upper town; the other part is inhabited principally by the traders.

Perhaps in no place of the ſame ſize in the world is there more gambling going forward than in Richmond. I had ſcarcely alighted from my horſe at the tavern, when the landlord came to aſk what game I was moſt partial to, as in ſuch a room there was a faro table, in another a hazard table, in a third a billiard table, to any one of which he was ready to conduct me. Not the ſmalleſt ſecrecy is employed in keeping theſe tables; they are always crowded with people, and the doors of the apartment are only ſhut to prevent the rabble from coming in. Indeed, throughout the lower parts of the country in Virginia, and alſo in that part of Maryland next to it, there is ſcarcely a petty tavern without a billiard room, and this is always full of a ſet of idle low lived fellows, drinking ſpirits or playing cards, if not engaged at the table. Cockfighting is alſo another favourite diverſion; it is chiefly, however, the lower

claſs

claſs of people that partake of theſe amuſements at the taverns; in private there is, perhaps, as little gambling in Virginia as in any other part of America. The circumſtance of having the taverns thus infeſted by ſuch a ſet of people renders travelling extremely unpleaſant. Many times I have been forced to proceed much farther in a day than I have wiſhed, in order to avoid the ſcenes of rioting and quarrelling that I have met with at the taverns, which it is impoſſible to eſcape as long as you remain in the ſame houſe where they are carried on, for every apartment is conſidered as common, and that room in which a ſtranger ſits down is ſure to be the moſt frequented.

Whenever theſe people come to blows, they fight juſt like wild beaſts, biting, kicking, and endeavouring to tear each other's eyes out with their nails. It is by no means uncommon to meet with thoſe who have loſt an eye in a combat, and there are men who pride themſelves upon the dexterity with which they can ſcoop one out. This is called gouging. To perform the horrid operation, the combatant twiſts his forefingers in the ſide locks of his adverſary's hair, and then applies his thumbs to the bottom of the eye, to force it out of the ſocket. If ever there is a battle, in which neither of thoſe engaged loſes an eye, their faces are however generally cut in a ſhocking manner with the thumb nails, in the many attempts which are made at gouging. But what is worſe than all, theſe wretches in their combat endeavour to their utmoſt to tear out each other's teſticles. Four or five inſtances came within my own obſervation, as I paſſed through Maryland and Virginia, of men being confined in their beds from the injuries which they had received of this nature in a fight. In the Carolinas and Georgia, I have been credibly aſſured, that the people are ſtill more depraved in this reſpect than in Virginia, and that in ſome particular parts of theſe ſtates, every third or fourth man appears with one eye.

LETTER XV.

Description of Virginia between Richmond and the Mountains.—Fragrance of Flowers and Shrubs in the Woods.—Melody of the Birds.—Of the Birds of Virginia.—Mocking Bird.—Blue Bird.—Red Bird, &c.—Singular Noises of the Frogs.—Columbia.—Magazine there.—Fire Flies in the Woods.—Green Springs.—Wretchedness of the Accommodation there.—Difficulty of finding the Way through the Woods.—Serpents.—Rattle-Snake.—Copper-Snake.—Black Snake.—South-west, or Green Mountains.—Soil of them.—Mountain Torrents do great Damage.—Salubrity of the Climate.—Great Beauty of the Peasantry.—Many Gentlemen of Property living here.—Monticello, the Seat of Mr. Jefferson.—Vineyards.—Observations on the Culture of the Grape, and the Manufacture of Wine.

Monticello, May.

HAVING staid at Richmond somewhat longer than a week, which I found absolutely necessary, if it had only been to recruit the strength of my horses, that had been half starved in coming from Norfolk, I proceeded in a north-westerly direction towards the South-west or Green Mountains.

The country about Richmond is sandy, but not so much so, nor as flat as on the south side of James River towards the sea. It now wore a most pleasing aspect. The first week in May had arrived; the trees had obtained a considerable part of their foliage, and the air in the woods was perfumed with the fragrant smell of numberless flowers and flowering shrubs, which sprang up on all sides. The music of the birds was also delightful. It is thought that in Virginia the singing birds are finer than what are to be met with on any other part of the continent, as the climate is more congenial to them, being neither so intensely hot in summer as that of the Carolinas, nor so cold in winter as that of the more northern states. The notes of the mocking bird or Virginian nightingale are in particular most melodious. This bird is of the colour

lour and about the size of a thrush, but more slender; it imitates the song of every other bird, but with increased strength and sweetness. The bird whose song it mocks generally flies away, as if conscious of being excelled by the other, and dissatisfied with its own powers. It is a remark, however, made by Catesby, and which appears to be a very just one, that the birds in America are much inferior to those in Europe in the melody of their notes, but that they are superior in point of plumage. I know of no American bird that has the rich mellow note of our blackbird, the sprightly note of the sky-lark, or the sweet and plaintive one of the nightingale.

After having listened to the mocking bird, there is no novelty in hearing the song of any other bird in the country; and indeed their songs are for the most part but very simple in themselves, though combined they are pleasing.

The most remarkable for their plumage of those commonly met with are, the blue bird and the red bird. The first is about the size of a linnet; its back, head, and wings are of dark yet bright blue; when flying the plumage appears to the greatest advantage. The red bird is larger than a sky lark, though smaller than a thrush; it is of a vermilion colour, and has a small tuft on its head. A few humming birds make their appearance in summer, but their plumage is not so beautiful as those found more to the southward.

Of the other common birds there are but few worth notice. Doves and quails, or partridges as they are sometimes called, afford good diversion for the sportsman. These last birds in their habits are exactly similar to European partridges, excepting that they alight sometimes upon trees; their size is that of the quail, but they are neither the same as the English quail or the English partridge. It is the same with many other birds, as jays, robins, larks, pheasants, &c. which were called by the English settlers after the birds of the same name in England, because they bore some resemblance to them, though in fact they are materially different. In the lower parts of Virginia, and to the southward, are great numbers of large birds, called turkey buzzards, which, when mounted aloft on the wing, look like eagles. In Carolina there is a law prohibiting

ing the killing these birds, as they feed upon putrid carcases, and therefore contribute to keep the air wholesome. There is only one bird more which I shall mention, the whipper-will, or whip-poor-will, as it is sometimes called, from the plaintive noise that it makes; to my ear it sounded wȳp-ŏ-īl. It begins to make this noise, which is heard a great way off, about dusk, and continues it through the greater part of the night. This bird is so very wary, and so few instances have occurred of its being seen, much less taken, that many have imagined the noise does not proceed from a bird, but from a frog, especially as it is heard most frequently in the neighbourhood of low grounds.

The frogs in America, it must here be observed, make a most singular noise, some of them absolutely whistling, whilst others croak so loudly, that it is difficult at times to tell whether the sound proceeds from a calf or a frog: I have more than once been deceived by the noise when walking in a meadow. These last frogs are called bull frogs; they mostly keep in pairs, and are never found but where there is good water; their bodies are from four to seven inches long, and their legs are in proportion; they are extremely active, and take prodigious leaps.

The first town I reached on going towards the mountains was Columbia, or Point of Fork, as it is called in the neighbourhood. It is situated about sixty miles above Richmond, at the confluence of Rivanna and Fluvanna rivers, which united form James River. This is a flourishing little place, containing about forty houses, and a warehouse for the inspection of tobacco. On the neck of land between the two rivers, just opposite to the town, is the magazine of the state, in which are kept twelve thousand stand of arms, and about thirty tons of powder. The low lands bordering upon the river in this neighbourhood are extremely valuable.

From Columbia to the Green Springs, about twenty miles farther on, the road runs almost wholly through a pine forest, and is very lonely. Night came on before I got to the end of it, and, as very commonly happens with travellers in this part of the world, I soon lost my way. A light, however, seen through the trees, seemed to indicate that a house was not far off; my servant eagerly rode up to it, but the poor fellow's

conſternation was great indeed when he obſerved it moving from him, preſently coming back, and then with ſwiftneſs departing again into the woods. I was at a loſs for a time myſelf to account for the appearance, but after proceeding a little farther, I obſerved the ſame ſort of light in many other places, and diſmounting from my horſe to examine a buſh where one of theſe ſparks appeared to have fallen, I found it proceeded from the fire fly. As the ſummer came on, theſe flies appeared every night: after a light ſhower in the afternoon, I have ſeen the woods ſparkling with them in every quarter. The light is emitted from the tail, and the animal has the power of emitting it or not at pleaſure.

After wandering about till it was near eleven o'clock, a plantation at laſt appeared, and having got freſh information reſpecting the road from the negroes in the quarter, who generally ſit up half the night, and over a fire in all ſeaſons, I again ſet out for the Green Springs. With ſome difficulty I at laſt found the way, and arrived there about midnight. The hour was ſo unſeaſonable, that the people at the tavern were very unwilling to open their doors; and it was not till I had related the hiſtory of my adventures from the laſt ſtage two or three times that they could be prevailed upon to let me in. At laſt a tall fellow in his ſhirt came grumbling to the door, and told me I might come in if I would. I had now a parley for another quarter of an hour to perſuade him to give me ſome corn for my horſes, which he was very unwilling to do; but at laſt he complied, though much againſt his inclination, and unlocked the ſtable door. Returning to the houſe, I was ſhewn into a room about ten feet ſquare, in which were two filthy beds ſwarming with bugs; the ceiling had mouldered away, and the walls admitted light in various places; it was a happy circumſtance, however, that theſe apertures were in the wall, for the window of the apartment was inſufficient in itſelf to admit either light or freſh air. Here I would fain have got ſomething to eat, if poſſible, but not even ſo much as a piece of bread was to be had; indeed, in this part of the country they ſeldom think of keeping bread ready made, but juſt prepare ſufficient for the meal about half an hour before it is wanted, and then ſerve it hot. Unable therefore to procure any food, and fatigued with a long journey during

during a parching day, I threw myſelf down on one of the beds in my clothes, and enjoyed a profound repoſe, notwithſtanding the repeated onſets of the bugs and other vermin with which I was moleſted.

Beſides the tavern and the quarters of the ſlaves, there is but one more building at this place. This is a large farm houſe, where people that reſort to the ſprings are accommodated with lodgings, about as good as thoſe at the tavern. Theſe habitations ſtand in the center of a cleared ſpot of land of about fifty acres, ſurrounded entirely with wood. The ſprings are juſt on the margin of the wood, at the bottom of a ſlope, which begins at the houſes, and are covered with a few boards, merely to keep the leaves from falling in. The waters are chalybeate, and are drank chiefly by perſons from the low country, whoſe conſtitutions have been relaxed by the heats of ſummer.

Having breakfaſted in the morning at this miſerable little place, I proceeded on my journey up the South-weſt Mountain. In the courſe of this day's ride I obſerved a great number of ſnakes, which were now beginning to come forth from their holes. I killed a black one, that I found ſleeping, ſtretched acroſs the road; it was five feet in length. The black ſnake is more commonly met with than any other in this part of America, and is uſually from four to ſix feet in length. In proportion to the length it is extremely ſlender; the back is perfectly black, the belly lead colour, inclining to white towards the throat. The bite of this ſnake is not poiſonous, and the people in that country are not generally inclined to kill it, from its great utility in deſtroying rats and mice. It is wonderfully fond of milk, and is frequently found in the dairies, which in Virginia are for the moſt part in low ſituations, like cellars, as the milk could not otherwiſe be kept ſweet for two hours together in ſummer time. The black ſnake, at the time of copulation, immediately purſues any perſon who comes in ſight, and with ſuch ſwiftneſs, that the beſt runner cannot eſcape from him upon even ground. Many other ſorts of harmleſs ſnakes are found here, ſome of which are beautifully variegated, as the garter, the ribbon, the blueiſh green ſnake, &c. &c. Of the venomous kind, the moſt common are the rattle ſnake, and the copper or moccaſſin ſnake. The former is found chiefly on

the mountains; but although frequently met with, it is very rarely that people are bitten by it; ſcarcely a ſummer, however, paſſes over without ſeveral being bit by the copper ſnake. The poiſon of the latter is not ſo ſubtile as that of the rattle ſnake, but it is very injurious, and if not attended to in time, death will certainly enſue. The rattle ſnake is very dull, and never attacks a perſon that does not moleſt him; but, at the ſame time, he will not turn out of the way to avoid any one; before he bites, he always gives notice by ſhaking his rattles, ſo that a perſon that hears them can readily get out of his way. The copper ſnake, on the contrary, is more active and treacherous, and, it is ſaid, will abſolutely put himſelf in the way of a perſon to bite him. Snakes are neither ſo numerous nor ſo venomous in the northern as in the ſouthern ſtates. Horſes, cows, dogs, and fowl ſeem to have an innate ſenſe of the danger they are expoſed to from theſe poiſonous reptiles, and will ſhew evident ſymptoms of fear on approaching near them, although they are dead; but what is remarkable, hogs, ſo far from being afraid of them, purſue and devour them with the greateſt avidity, totally regardleſs of their bites. It is ſuppoſed that the great quantity of fat, with which they are furniſhed, prevents the poiſon from operating on their bodies as on thoſe of other animals. Hog's lard, it might therefore reaſonably be conjectured, would be a good remedy for the bite of a ſnake; however, I never heard of its being tried; the people generally apply herbs to the wound, the ſpecific qualities of which are well known. It is a remarkable inſtance of the bounty of providence, that in all thoſe parts of the country where theſe venomous reptiles abound, thoſe herbs which are the moſt certain antidote to the poiſon are found in the greateſt plenty.

The South-weſt Mountains run nearly parallel to the Blue Ridge, and are the firſt which you come to on going up the country from the ſea-coaſt in Virginia. Theſe mountains are not lofty, and ought indeed rather to be called hills than mountains; they are not ſeen till you come within a very few miles of them, and the aſcent is ſo gradual, that you get upon their top almoſt without perceiving it.

The ſoil here changes to a deep argillaceous earth, particularly well ſuited to the culture of ſmall grain and clover, and produces abundant

abundant crops. As this earth, however, does not abſorb the water very quickly, the farmer is expoſed to great loſſes from heavy falls of rain; the ſeed is liable to be waſhed out of the ground, ſo that ſometimes it is found neceſſary to ſow a field two or three different times before it becomes green; and if great care be not taken to guard ſuch fields as lie on a declivity by proper trenches, the crops are ſometimes entirely deſtroyed, even after they arrive at maturity; indeed, very often, notwithſtanding the utmoſt precautions, the water departs from its uſual channel, and ſweeps away all before it. After heavy torrents of rain I have frequently ſeen all the negroes in a farm diſpatched with hoes and ſpades to different fields, to be ready to turn the courſe of the water, in caſe it ſhould take an improper direction. On the ſides of the mountain, where the ground has been worn out with the culture of tobacco, and left waſte, and the water has been ſuffered to run in the ſame channel for a length of time, it is ſurpriſing to ſee the depth of the ravines or gullies, as they are called, which it has formed. They are juſt like ſo many precipices, and are inſurmountable barriers to the paſſage from one ſide of the mountain to the other.

Notwithſtanding ſuch diſadvantages, however, the country in the neighbourhood of theſe mountains is far more populous than that which lies towards Richmond; and there are many perſons that even conſider it to be the garden of the United States. All the productions of the lower part of Virginia may be had here, at the ſame time that the heat is never found to be ſo oppreſſive; for in the hotteſt months in the year there is a freſhneſs and elaſticity in the air unknown in the low country. The extremes of heat and cold are found to be 90° and 60° above cipher, but it is not often that the thermometer riſes above 84°, and the winters are ſo mild in general, that it is a very rare circumſtance for the ſnow to lie for three days together upon the ground.

The ſalubrity of the climate is equal alſo to that of any part of the United States; and the inhabitants have in conſequence a healthy ruddy appearance. The female part of the peaſantry in particular is totally different from that in the low country. Inſtead of the pale, ſickly, debilitated

bilitated beings, whom you meet with there, you find amongſt theſe mountains many a one that would be a fit ſubject to be painted for a Lavinia. It is really delightful to behold the groups of females, aſſembled here, at times, to gather the cherries and other fruits which grow in the greateſt abundance in the neighbourhood of almoſt every habitation. Their ſhapes and complexions are charming; and the careleſſneſs of their dreſſes, which conſiſt of little more, in common, than a ſimple bodice and petticoat, makes them appear even ſtill more engaging.

The common people in this neighbourhood appeared to me to be of a more frank and open diſpoſition, more inclined to hoſpitality, and to live more contentedly on what they poſſeſſed, than the people of the ſame claſs in any other part of the United States I paſſed through. From being able, however, to procure the neceſſaries of life upon very eaſy terms, they are rather of an indolent habit, and inclined to diſſipation. Intoxication is very prevalent, and it is ſcarcely poſſible to meet with a man who does not begin the day with taking one, two, or more drams as ſoon as he riſes. Brandy is the liquor which they principally uſe, and having the greateſt abundance of peaches, they make it at a very trifling expence. There is hardly a houſe to be found with two rooms in it, but where the inhabitants have a ſtill. The females do not fall into the habit of intoxication like the men, but in other reſpects they are equally diſpoſed to pleaſure, and their morals are in like manner relaxed.

Along theſe mountains live ſeveral gentlemen of large landed property, who farm their own eſtates, as in the lower parts of Virginia; among the number is Mr. Jefferſon *, from whoſe ſeat I date this letter. His houſe is about three miles diſtant from Charlotteſville and two from Milton, which is on the head waters of Rivanna River. It is moſt ſingularly ſituated, being built upon the top of a ſmall mountain, the apex of which has been cut off, ſo as to leave an area of about an acre and half. At

* Vice-preſident of the United States.

preſent

preſent it is in an unfiniſhed ſtate; but if carried on according to the plan laid down, it will be one of the moſt elegant private habitations in the United States. A large apartment is laid out for a library and muſeum, meant to extend the entire breadth of the houſe, the windows of which are to open into an extenſive green houſe and aviary. In the center is another very ſpacious apartment, of an octagon form, reaching from the front to the rear of the houſe, the large folding glaſs doors of which, at each end, open under a portico. An apartment like this, extending from front to back, is very common in a Virginian houſe; it is called the ſaloon, and during ſummer is the one generally preferred by the family, on account of its being more airy and ſpacious than any other. The houſe commands a magnificent proſpect on one ſide of the blue ridge of mountains for nearly forty miles, and on the oppoſite one, of the low country, in appearance like an extended heath covered with trees, the tops alone of which are viſible. The miſts and vapours ariſing from the low grounds give a continual variety to the ſcene. The mountain whereon the houſe ſtands is thickly wooded on one ſide, and walks are carried round it, with different degrees of obliquity, running into each other. On the ſouth ſide is the garden and a large vineyard, that produces abundance of fine fruit.

Several attempts have been made in this neighbourhood to bring the manufacture of wine to perfection; none of them however have ſucceeded to the wiſh of the parties. A ſet of gentlemen once went to the expence even of getting ſix Italians over for the purpoſe, but the vines which the Italians found growing here were different, as well as the ſoil, from what they had been in the habit of cultivating, and they were not much more ſucceſsful in the buſineſs than the people of the country. We muſt not, however, from hence conclude that good wine can never be manufactured upon theſe mountains. It is well known that the vines, and the mode of cultivating them, vary as much in different parts of Europe as the ſoil in one country differs from that in another. It will require ſome time, therefore, and different experiments, to aſcertain the particular kind of vine, and the mode of cultivating it, beſt adapted

adapted to the ſoil of theſe mountains. This, however, having been once aſcertained, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that the grape may be cultivated to the greateſt perfection, as the climate is as favourable for the purpoſe as that of any country in Europe. By experiments alſo it is by no means improbable, that they w ill in proceſs of time learn the beſt method of converting the juice of the fruit into wine.

LETTER XVI.

Of the Country between the South-weſt and Blue Mountains.—Copper and Iron Mines.—Lynchburgh.—New London.—Armoury here.—Deſcription of the Road over the Blue Mountains.—Peaks of Otter, higheſt of the Mountains.—Suppoſed Height.—Much over-rated.—German Settlers numerous beyond the Blue Mountains.—Singular Contraſt between the Country and the Inhabitants on each Side of the Mountains.—Of the Weevil.—Of the Heſſian Fly.—Bottetourt County.—Its Soil.—Salubrity of the Climate.—Medicinal Springs here.—Much frequented.

Fincaſtle, May.

THE country between the South-weſt Mountains and the Blue Ridge is very fertile, and it is much more thickly inhabited than the lower parts of Virginia. The climate is good, and the people have a healthy and robuſt appearance. Several valuable mines of iron and copper have been diſcovered here, for the working of ſome of which works have been eſtabliſhed; but till the country becomes more populous it cannot be expected that they will be carried on with much ſpirit.

Having croſſed the South-weſt Mountains, I paſſed along through this county to Lynchburgh, a town ſituated on the ſouth ſide of Fluvanna River, one hundred and fifty miles above Richmond. This town contains about one hundred houſes, and a warehouſe for the inſpection of tobacco, where about two thouſand hogſheads are annually inſpected.

It has been built entirely within the laſt fifteen years, and is rapidly increaſing, from its advantageous ſituation for carrying on trade with the adjacent country. The boats, in which the produce is conveyed down the river, are from forty-eight to fifty-four feet long, but very narrow in proportion to their breadth. Three men are ſufficient to navigate one of theſe boats, and they can go to Richmond and back again in ten days. They fall down with the ſtream, but work their way back again with poles. The cargo carried in theſe boats is always proportionate to the depth of water in the river, which varies very much. When I paſſed it to Lynchburgh, there was no difficulty in riding acroſs, yet when I got upon the oppoſite banks I obſerved great quantities of weeds hanging upon the trees, conſiderably above my head though on horſeback, evidently left there by a flood. This flood happened in the preceding September, when the waters roſe fifteen feet above their uſual level.

A few miles from Lynchburgh, towards the Blue Mountains, is a ſmall town called New London, in which there is a magazine, and alſo an armoury, erected during the war. About fifteen men were here employed, as I paſſed through, repairing old arms and furbiſhing up others; and indeed, from the ſlovenly manner in which they keep their arms, I ſhould imagine that the ſame number muſt be conſtantly employed all the year round. At one end of the room lay the muſquets, to the amount of about five thouſand, all together in a large heap, and at the oppoſite end lay a pile of leathern accoutrements, abſolutely rotting for want of common attention. All the armouries throughout the United States are kept much in the ſame ſtyle.

Between this place and the Blue Mountains the country is rough and hilly, and but very thinly inhabited. The few inhabitants, however, met with here are uncommonly robuſt and tall; it is rare to ſee a man amongſt them who is not ſix feet high. Theſe people entertain a high opinion of their own ſuperiority in point of bodily ſtrength over the inhabitants of the low country. A ſimilar race of men is found all along the Blue Mountains.

The Blue Ridge is thickly covered with large trees to the very ſummit; ſome of the mountains are rugged and extremely ſtony, others are not ſo, and on theſe laſt the ſoil is found to be rich and fertile. It is only in particular places that this ridge of mountains can be croſſed, and at ſome of the gaps the aſcent is ſteep and difficult; but at the place where I croſſed it, which was near the Peak of Otter, on the ſouth ſide, inſtead of one great mountain to paſs over, as might be imagined from an inſpection of the map, there is a ſucceſſion of ſmall hills, riſing imperceptibly one above the other, ſo that you get upon the top of the ridge before you are aware of it.

The Peaks of Otter are the higheſt mountains in the Blue Ridge, and, meaſured from their baſes, are ſuppoſed to be more lofty than any others in North America. According to Mr. Jefferſon, whoſe authority has been quoted nearly by every perſon that has written on the ſubject ſince the publication of his Notes on Virginia, the principal peak is about four thouſand feet in perpendicular height; but it muſt be obſerved, that Mr. Jefferſon does not ſay that he meaſured the height himſelf; on the contrary, he acknowledges that the height of the mountains in America has never yet been aſcertained with any degree of exactneſs; it is only from certain data, from which he ſays a tolerable conjecture may be formed, that he ſuppoſes this to be the height of the loftieſt peak. Poſitively to aſſert that this peak is not ſo high, without having meaſured it in any manner, would be abſurd; as I did not meaſure it, I do not therefore pretend to contradict Mr. Jefferſon; I have only to ſay, that the moſt elevated of the peaks of Otter appeared to me but a very inſignificant mountain in compariſon with Snowden, in Wales; and every perſon that I converſed with that had ſeen both, and I converſed with many, made the ſame remark. Now the higheſt peak of Snowden is found by triangular admeaſurement to be no more than three thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight feet high, reckoning from the quay at Carnarvon. None of the other mountains in the Blue Ridge are ſuppoſed, from the ſame data, to be more than two thouſand feet in perpendicular height.

Beyond

Beyond the Blue Ridge, after croſſing by this route near the Peaks of Otter, I met with but very few ſettlements till I drew near to Fincaſtle, in Bottetourt County. This town ſtands about twenty miles diſtant from the mountain, and about fifteen ſouth of Fluvanna River. It was only begun about the year 1790, yet it already contains ſixty houſes, and is moſt rapidly increaſing. The improvement of the adjacent country has likewiſe been very rapid, and land now bears nearly the ſame price that it does in the neighbourhood of York and Lancaſter, in Pennſylvania. The inhabitants conſiſt principally of Germans, who have extended their ſettlements from Pennſylvania along the whole of that rich track of land which runs through the upper part of Maryland, and from thence behind the Blue Mountains to the moſt ſouthern parts of Virginia. Theſe people, as I before mentioned, keep very much together, and are never to be found but where the land is remarkably good. It is ſingular, that although they form three fourths of the inhabitants on the weſtern ſide of the Blue Ridge, yet not one of them is to be met with on the eaſtern ſide, notwithſtanding that land is to be purchaſed in the neighbourhood of the South-weſt Mountains for one fourth of what is paid for it in Bottetourt County. They have many times, I am told, croſſed the Blue Ridge to examine the land, but the red ſoil which they found there was different from what they had been accuſtomed to, and the injury it was expoſed to from the mountain torrents always appeared to them an inſuperable objection to ſettling in that part of the country. The difference indeed between the country on the eaſtern and on the weſtern ſide of the Blue Ridge, in Bottetourt County, is aſtoniſhing, when it is conſidered that both are under the ſame latitude, and that this difference is perceptible within the ſhort diſtance of thirty miles.

On the eaſtern ſide of the ridge cotton grows extremely well, and in winter the ſnow ſcarcely ever remains more than a day or two upon the ground. On the other ſide cotton never comes to perfection, the winters are ſevere, and the fields covered with ſnow for weeks together. In every farm yard you ſee ſleighs or ſledges, carriages uſed to run upon the ſnow. Wherever theſe carriages are met with, it may be taken for granted that the winter laſts in that part of the country for a

conſiderable length of time, for the people would never go to the expence of building them, without being tolerably certain that they would be uſeful. On the eaſtern ſide of the Blue Ridge, in Virginia, not one of theſe carriages is to be met with.

It has already been mentioned, that the predominant ſoil to the eaſtward of the Blue Ridge is a red earth, and that it is always a matter of ſome difficulty to lay down a piece of land in graſs, on account of the rains, which are apt to waſh away the ſeeds, together with the mould on the ſurface. In Bottetourt County, on the contrary, the ſoil conſiſts chiefly of a rich brown mould, and throws up white clover ſpontaneouſly. To have a rich meadow, it is only neceſſary to leave a piece of ground to the hand of nature for one year. Again, on the eaſtern ſide of the Blue Mountains, ſcarcely any limeſtone is to be met with; on the oppoſite one, a bed of it runs entirely through the country, ſo that by ſome it is emphatically called the limeſtone county. In ſinking wells, they have always to dig fifteen or twenty feet through a ſolid rock to get at the water.

Another circumſtance may alſo be mentioned, as making a material difference between the country on one ſide of the Blue Ridge and that on the other, namely, that behind the mountains the weevil is unknown. The weevil is a ſmall inſect of the moth kind, which depoſits its eggs in the cavity of the grain, and particularly in that of wheat; and if the crops are ſtacked or laid up in the barn in ſheaves, theſe eggs are there hatched, and the grain is in conſequence totally deſtroyed. To guard againſt this in the lower parts of Virginia, and the other ſtates where the weevil is common, they always threſh out the grain as ſoon as the crops are brought in, and leave it in the chaff, which creates a degree of heat ſufficient to deſtroy the inſect, at the ſame time that it does not injure the wheat. This inſect has been known in America but a very few years; according to the general opinion, it originated on the eaſtern ſhore of Maryland, where a perſon, in expectation of a great riſe in the price of wheat, kept over all his crops for the ſpace of ſix years, when they were found full of theſe inſects; from thence they have ſpread gradually over different parts of the country. For a conſiderable

time

time the Patowmac River formed a barrier to their progreſs, and while the crops were entirely deſtroyed in Maryland, they remained ſecure in Virginia; but theſe inſects at laſt found their way acroſs the river. The Blue-Mountains at preſent ſerve as a barrier, and ſecure the country to the weſtward from their depredations *.

Bottetourt County is entirely ſurrounded by mountains; it is alſo croſſed by various ridges of mountains in different directions, a circumſtance which renders the climate particularly agreeable. It appears to me, that there is no part of America where the climate would be more congenial to the conſtitution of a native of Great Britain or Ireland. The froſt in winter is more regular, but not ſeverer than commonly takes place in thoſe iſlands. In ſummer the heat is, perhaps, ſomewhat greater; but there is not a night in the year that a blanket is not found very comfortable. Before ten o'clock in the morning the heat is greateſt; at that hour a breeze generally ſprings up from the mountains, and renders the air agreeable the whole day. Fever and ague are diſorders unknown here, and the air is ſo ſalubrious, that perſons who come hither afflicted with it from the low country, towards the ſea, get rid of it in a very ſhort time.

In the weſtern part of the county are ſeveral medicinal ſprings, whereto numbers of people reſort towards the latter end of ſummer, as much for the ſake of eſcaping the heat in the low country, as for drinking the waters. Thoſe moſt frequented are called the ſweet

* There is another inſect, which in a ſimilar manner made its appearance, and afterwards ſpread through a great part of the country, very injurious alſo to the crops. It is called the Heſſian fly, from having been brought over, as is ſuppoſed, in ſome forage belonging to the Heſſian troops, during the war. This inſect lodges itſelf in different parts of the ſtalk, while green, and makes ſuch rapid devaſtations, that a crop which appears in the beſt poſſible ſtate will, perhaps, be totally deſtroyed in the courſe of two or three days. In Maryland, they ſay, that if the land is very highly manured, the Heſſian fly never attacks the grain; they alſo ſay, that crops raiſed upon land that has been worked for a long time are much leſs expoſed to injury from theſe inſects than the crops raiſed upon new land. If this is really the caſe, the appearance of the Heſſian fly ſhould be conſidered as a circumſtance rather beneficial than otherwiſe to the country, as it will induce the inhabitants to relinquiſh that ruinous practice of working the ſame piece of ground year after year till it is entirely worn out, and then leaving it waſte, inſtead of taking ſome pains to improve it by manure. This fly is not known at preſent ſouth of the Patowmac River, nor behind the Blue Ridge.

ſprings.

ſprings, and are ſituated at the foot of the Alleghany Mountains. During the laſt ſeaſon upwards of two hundred perſons reſorted to them with ſervants and horſes. The accommodations at the ſprings are moſt wretched at preſent; but a ſet of gentlemen from South Carolina have, I underſtand, ſince I was there, purchaſed the place, and are going to erect ſeveral commodious dwellings in the neighbourhood, for the reception of company. Beſides theſe ſprings there are others in Jackſon's Mountains, a ridge which runs between the Blue Mountains and the Alleghany. One of the ſprings here is warm, and another quite hot; a few paces from the latter a ſpring of common water iſſues from the earth, but which, from the contraſt, is generally thought to be as remarkable for its coldneſs as the water of the adjoining one is for its heat: there is alſo a ſulphur ſpring near theſe; leaves of trees falling into it become thickly incruſted with ſulphur in a very ſhort time, aud ſilver is turned black almoſt immediately. At a future period the medicinal qualities of all theſe ſprings will probably be accurately aſcertained; at preſent they are but very little known. As for the relief obtained by thoſe perſons that frequent the ſweet ſprings in particular, it is ſtrongly conjectured that they are more indebted for it to the change of the climate than to the rare qualities of the water.

LETTER XVII.

Deſcription of the celebrated Rock Bridge, and of an immenſe Cavern.—Deſcription of the Shenandoah Valley.—Inhabitants moſtly Germans.—Soil and Climate.—Obſervations on American Landſcapes.—Mode of cutting down Trees.—High Road to Kentucky, behind Blue Mountains.—Much frequented.—Uncouth, inquiſitive People.—Lexington.—Staunton.—Military Titles very common in America.—Cauſes thereof.—Wincheſter.

Wincheſter, May.

AFTER remaining a conſiderable time in Bottetourt County, I again croſſed Fluvanna River into the county of Rockbridge, ſo called from the remarkable natural bridge of rock that is in it. This bridge ſtands about ten miles from Fluvanna River, and nearly the ſame diſtance from the Blue Ridge. It extends acroſs a deep cleft in a mountain, which, by ſome great convulſion of nature, has been ſplit aſunder from top to bottom, and it ſeems to have been left there purpoſely to afford a paſſage from one ſide of the chaſm to the other. The cleft or chaſm is about two miles long, and is in ſome places upwards of three hundred feet deep; the depth varies according to the height of the mountain, being deepeſt where the mountain is moſt lofty. The breadth of the chaſm alſo varies in different places; but in every part it is uniformly wider at top than towards the bottom. That the two ſides of the chaſm were once united appears very evident, not only from projecting rocks on the one ſide correſponding with ſuitable cavities on the other, but alſo from the different ſtrata of earth, ſand, clay, &c. being exactly ſimilar from top to bottom on both ſides; but by what great agent they were ſeparated, whether by fire or by water, remains hidden amongſt thoſe arcana of nature which we vainly endeavour to develope.

The arch conſiſts of a ſolid maſs of ſtone, or of ſeveral ſtones cemented ſo ſtrongly together, that they appear but as one. This maſs, it is to be ſuppoſed, at the time that the hill was rent aſunder, was drawn

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acroſs the fiſſure from adhering cloſely to one ſide, and being looſened from its bed of earth at the oppoſite one. It ſeems as probable, I think, that the maſs of ſtone forming the arch was thus forcibly plucked from one ſide, and drawn acroſs the fiſſure, as that the hill ſhould have remained diſunited at this one ſpot from top to bottom, and that a paſſage ſhould afterwards have been forced through it by water. The road leading to the bridge runs through a thick wood, and up a hill, having aſcended which, nearly to the top, you pauſe for a moment at finding a ſudden diſcontinuance of the trees at one ſide; but the amazement which fills the mind is great indeed, when, on going a few paces towards the part which appears thus open, you find yourſelf on the brink of a tremendous precipice. You involuntarily draw back, ſtare around, then again come forward to ſatisfy yourſelf that what you have ſeen is real, and not the illuſions of fancy. You now perceive, that you are upon the top of the bridge, to the very edge of which, on one ſide, you may approach with ſafety, and look down into the abyſs, being protected from falling by a parapet of fixed rocks. The walls, as it were, of the bridge at this ſide are ſo perpendicular, that a perſon leaning over the parapet of rock might let fall a plummet from the hand to the very bottom of the chaſm. On the oppoſite ſide this is not the caſe, nor is there any parapet; but from the edge of the road, which runs over the bridge, is a gradual ſlope to the brink of the chaſm, upon which it is ſomewhat dangerous to venture. This ſlope is thickly covered with large trees, principally cedars and pines. The oppoſite ſide was alſo well furniſhed with trees formerly, but all thoſe that grew near the edge of the bridge have been cut down by different people, for the ſake of ſeeing them tumble to the bottom. Before the trees were deſtroyed in this manner, you might have paſſed over the bridge without having had any idea of being upon it; for the breadth of it is no leſs than eighty feet. The road runs nearly in the middle, and is frequented daily by waggons.

At the diſtance of a few yards from the bridge, a narrow path appears, winding along the ſides of the fiſſure, amidſt immenſe rocks and trees, down to the bottom of the bridge. Here the ſtupendous arch

appears

appears in all its glory, and ſeems to touch the very ſkies. To behold it without rapture, indeed, is impoſſible; and the more critically it is examined, the more beautiful and the more ſurpriſing does it appear. The height of the bridge to the top of the parapet is two hundred and thirteen feet by admeaſurement with a line, the thickneſs of the arch forty feet, the ſpan of the arch at top ninety feet, and the diſtance between the abutments at bottom fifty feet. The abutments conſiſt of a ſolid maſs of limeſtone on either ſide, and, together with the arch, ſeem as if they had been chiſeled out by the hand of art. A ſmall ſtream, called Cedar Creek, running at the bottom of the fiſſure, over a bed of rocks, adds much to the beauty of the ſcene.

The fiſſure takes a very ſudden turn juſt above the bridge, according to the courſe of the ſtream, ſo that when you ſtand below, and look under the arch, the view is intercepted at the diſtance of about fifty yards from the bridge. Mr. Jefferſon's ſtatement, in his Notes, that the fiſſure continues ſtrait, terminating with a pleaſing view of the North Mountains, is quite erroneous. The ſides of the chaſm are thickly covered in every part with trees, excepting where the huge rocks of limeſtone appear.

Beſides this view from below, the bridge is ſeen to very great advantage from a pinnacle of rocks, about fifty feet below the top of the fiſſure; for here not only the arch is ſeen in all its beauty, but the ſpectator is impreſſed in the moſt forcible manner with ideas of its grandeur, from being enabled at the ſame time to look down into the profound gulph over which it paſſes.

About fifty miles to the northward of the Rock Bridge, and alſo behind the Blue Mountains, there is another very remarkable natural curioſity; this is a large cavern, known in the neighbourhood by the name of Maddiſon's Cave. It is in the heart of a mountain, about two hundred feet high, and which is ſo ſteep on one ſide, that a perſon ſtanding on the top of it, might eaſily throw a pebble into the river, which flows round the baſe; the oppoſite ſide of it is, however, very eaſy of aſcent, and on this ſide the path leading to the cavern runs, excepting for the laſt twenty yards, when it ſuddenly turns

along the ſteep part of the mountain, which is extremely rugged, and covered with immenſe rocks and trees from top to bottom. The mouth of the cavern, on this ſteep ſide, about two thirds of the way up, is guarded by a huge pendent ſtone, which ſeems ready to drop every inſtant, and it is hardly poſſible to ſtoop under it, without reflecting with a certain degree of awe, that were it to drop, nothing could ſave you from periſhing within the dreary walls of that manſion to which it affords an entrance.

Preparatory to entering, the guide, whom I had procured from a neighbouring houſe, lighted the ends of three or four ſplinters of pitch pine, a large bundle of which he had brought with him: they burn out very faſt, but while they laſt are moſt excellent torches. The fire he brought along with him, by means of a bit of green hiccory wood, which, when once lighted, will burn ſlowly without any blaze till the whole is conſumed.

The firſt apartment you enter is about twenty-five feet high, and fifteen broad, and extends a conſiderable way to the right and left, the floor aſcending towards the former; here it is very moiſt, from the quantity of water continually trickling from the roof. Fahrenheit's thermometer, which ſtood at 67° in the air, fell to 61° in this room. A few yards to the left, on the ſide oppoſite to you on entering, a paſſage preſents itſelf, which leads to a ſort of anti-chamber as it were, from whence you proceed into the ſound room, ſo named from the prodigious reverberation of the ſound of a voice or muſical inſtrument at the inſide. This room is about twenty feet ſquare; it is arched at top, and the ſides of it, as well as of that apartment which you firſt enter, are beautifully ornamented with ſtalactites. Returning from hence into the antichamber, and afterwards taking two or three turns to the right and left, you enter a long paſſage about thirteen feet wide, and perhaps about fifteen in height perpendicularly; but if it was meaſured from the floor to the higheſt part of the roof obliquely, the diſtance would be found much greater, as the walls on both ſides ſlope very conſiderably, and finally meet at top. This paſſage deſcends very rapidly, and is, I ſhould ſuppoſe, about ſixty yards long. Towards the end it narrows conſiderably, and terminates

terminates in a pool of clear water, about three or four feet deep. How far this pool extends it is impoſſible to ſay. A canoe was once brought down by a party, for the purpoſe of examination, but they ſaid, that after proceeding a little way upon the water the canoe would not float, and they were forced to return. Their fears, moſt probably, led them to fancy it was ſo. I fired a piſtol with a ball over the water, but the report was echoed from the after part of the cavern, and not from that part beyond the water, ſo that I ſhould not ſuppoſe the paſſage extended much farther than could be traced with the eye. The walls of this paſſage conſiſt of a ſolid rock of limeſtone on each ſide, which appears to have been ſeparated by ſome convulſion. The floor is of a deep ſandy earth, and it has repeatedly been dug up for the purpoſe of getting ſaltpetre, with which the earth is ſtrongly impregnated. The earth, after being dug up, is mixed with water, and when the groſſer particles fall to the bottom, the water is drawn off and evaporated; from the reſidue the ſaltpetre is procured. There are many other caverns in this neighbourhood, and alſo farther to the weſtward, in Virginia; from all of them great quantities of ſaltpetre are thus obtained. The gunpowder made with it, in the back country, forms a principal article of commerce, and is ſent to Philadelphia in exchange for European manufactures.

About two thirds of the way down this long paſſage, juſt deſcribed, is a large aperture in the wall on the right, leading to another apartment, the bottom of which is about ten feet below the floor of the paſſage, and it is no eaſy matter to get down into it, as the ſides are very ſteep and extremely ſlippery. This is the largeſt and moſt beautiful room in the whole cavern; it is ſomewhat of an oval form, about ſixty feet in length, thirty in breadth, and in ſome parts nearly fifty feet high. The petrifactions formed by the water dropping from above are moſt beautiful, and hang down from the ceiling in the form of elegant drapery, the folds of which are ſimilar to what thoſe of large blankets or carpets would be if ſuſpended by one corner in a lofty room. If ſtruck with a ſtick a deep hollow ſound is produced, which echoes through the vaults of the cavern. In other parts of this room the petrifactions have commenced at the bottom, and formed in pillars of

different heights; ſome of them reach nearly to the roof. If you go to a remote part of this apartment, and leave a perſon with a lighted torch moving about amidſt theſe pillars, a thouſand imaginary forms preſent themſelves, and you might almoſt fancy yourſelf in the infernal regions, with ſpectres and monſters on every ſide. The floor of this room ſlopes down gradually from one end to the other, and terminates in a pool of water, which appears to be on a level with that at the end of the long paſſage; from their ſituation it is moſt probable that they communicate together. The thermometer which I had with me ſtood, in the remoteſt part of this chamber, at 55°. From hence we returned to the mouth of the cavern, and on coming into the light it appeared as if we really had been in the infernal regions, for our faces, hands, and clothes were ſmutted all over, every part of the cave being covered with ſoot from the ſmoke of the pine torches which are ſo often carried in. The ſmoke from the pitch pine is particularly thick and heavy. Before this cave was much viſited, and the walls blackened by the ſmoke, its beauty, I was told by ſome of the old inhabitants, was great indeed, for the petrifactions on the roof and walls are all of the dead white kind

The country immediately behind the Blue Mountains, between Bottetourt County and the Patowmac River, is agreeably diverſified with hill and dale, and abounds with extenſive tracts of rich land. The low grounds bordering upon the Shenandoah River, which runs contiguous to the Blue Ridge for upwards of one hundred miles, are in particular diſtinguiſhed for their fertility. Theſe low grounds are thoſe which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, conſtitute the Shenandoah Valley, though in general the country lying for ſeveral miles diſtant from the river, and in ſome parts very hilly, goes under that name. The natural herbage is not ſo fine here as in Bottetourt County, but when clover is once ſown it grows moſt luxuriantly; wheat alſo is produced in as plentiful crops as in any part of the United States. Tobacco is not raiſed excepting for private uſe, and but little Indian corn is ſown, as it is liable to be injured by the nightly froſts, which are common in the ſpring.

The climate here is not ſo warm as in the lower parts of the country, on the eaſtern ſide of the mountains; but it is by no means ſo temperate

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as in Bottetourt County, which, from being environed with ridges of mountains, is conſtantly refreſhed with cooling breezes during ſummer, and in the winter is ſheltered from the keen blaſts from the north weſt.

The whole of this country, to the weſt of the mountains, is increaſing moſt rapidly in population. In the neighbourhood of Wincheſter it is ſo thickly ſettled, and conſequently ſo much cleared, that wood is now beginning to be thought valuable; the farmers are obliged frequently to ſend ten or fifteen miles even for their fence rails. It is only, however, in this particular neighbourhood that the country is ſo much improved; in other places there are immenſe tracts of woodlands ſtill remaining, and in general the hills are all left uncleared. The hills being thus left covered with trees is a circumſtance which adds much to the beauty of the country, and intermixed with extenſive fields clothed with the richeſt verdure, and watered by the numerous branches of the Shenandoah River, a variety of pleaſing landſcapes are preſented to the eye in almoſt every part of the route from Bottetourt to the Patowmac, many of which are conſiderably heightened by the appearance of the Blue Mountains in the back ground.

With regard to theſe landſcapes however, and to American landſcapes in general, it is to be obſerved, that their beauty is much impaired by the unpicturesque appearance of the angular fences, and of the ſtiff wooden houſes, which have at a little diſtance a heavy, dull, and gloomy aſpect. The ſtumps of the trees alſo, on land newly cleared, are moſt diſagreeable objects, wherewith the eye is continually aſſailed. When trees are felled in America, they are never cut down cloſe to the ground, but the trunks are left ſtanding two or three feet high; for it is found that a woodman can cut down many more in a day, ſtanding with a gentle inclination of the body, than if he were to ſtoop ſo as to apply his axe to the bottom of the tree; it does not make any difference either to the farmer, whether the ſtump is left two or three feet high, or whether it is cut down level with the ground, as in each caſe it would equally be a hindrance to the plough. Theſe ſtumps uſually decay in the courſe of ſeven or eight years; ſometimes however ſooner, ſometimes later, accord-

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ing to the quality of the timber. They never throw up ſuckers, as ſtumps of trees would do in England if left in that manner.

The cultivated lands in this country are moſtly parcelled out in ſmall portions; there are no perſons here, as on the other ſide of the mountains, poſſeſſing large farms; nor are there any eminently diſtinguiſhed by their education or knowledge from the reſt of their fellow citizens. Poverty alſo is as much unknown in this country as great wealth. Each man owns the houſe he lives in and the land which he cultivates, and every one appears to be in a happy ſtate of mediocrity, and unambitious of a more elevated ſituation than what he himſelf enjoys.

The free inhabitants conſiſt for the moſt part of Germans, who here maintain the ſame character as in Pennſylvania and the other ſtates where they have ſettled. About one ſixth of the people, on an average, are ſlaves, but in ſome of the counties the proportion is much leſs; in Rockbridge the ſlaves do not amount to more than an eleventh, and in Shenandoah County not to more than a twentieth part of the whole.

Between Fincaſtle and the Patowmac there are ſeveral towns, as Lexington, Staunton, Newmarket, Woodſtock, Wincheſter, Straſburgh, and ſome others. Theſe towns all ſtand on the great road, running north and ſouth behind the Blue Mountains, and which is the high road from the northern ſtates to Kentucky.

As I paſſed along it, I met with great numbers of people from Kentucky and the new ſtate of Tenaſſee going towards Philadelphia and Baltimore, and with many others going in a contrary direction, "to explore," as they call it, that is, to ſearch for lands conveniently ſituated for new ſettlements in the weſtern country. Theſe people all travel on horſeback, with piſtols or ſwords, and a large blanket folded up under their ſaddle, which laſt they uſe for ſleeping in when obliged to paſs the night in the woods. There is but little occaſion for arms now that peace has been made with the Indians; but formerly it uſed to be a very ſerious undertaking to go by this route to Kentucky, and travellers were always obliged to go forty or fifty in a party, and well prepared for defence. It would be ſtill dangerous for any perſon to venture ſingly; but if five or ſix travel together,

they are perfectly ſecure. There are houſes now ſcattered along nearly the whole way from Fincaſtle to Lexington in Kentucky, ſo that it is not neceſſary to ſleep more than two or three nights in the woods in going there. Of all the uncouth human beings I met with in America, theſe people from the weſtern country were the moſt ſo; their curioſity was boundleſs. Frequently have I been ſtopped abruptly by one of them in a ſolitary part of the road, and in ſuch a manner, that had it been in another country, I ſhould have imagined it was a highwayman that was going to demand my purſe, and without any further preface, aſked where I came from? if I was acquainted with any news? where bound to? and finally, my name?—"Stop, Miſter! why I gueſs now you be "coming from the new ſtate." "No, Sir,"—"Why then I gueſs as "how you be coming from Kentuc*." "No, Sir."—"Oh! why "then, pray now where might you be coming from?" "From the low "country."—"Why you muſt have heard all the news then; pray now, "Miſter, what might the price of bacon be in thoſe parts?" "Upon "my word, my friend, I can't inform you."—"Aye, aye; I ſee, Miſ- "ſter, you be'n't one of us; pray now, Miſter, what might your name "be?"—A ſtranger going the ſame way is ſure of having the company of theſe worthy people, ſo deſirous of information, as far as the next tavern, where he is ſeldom ſuffered to remain for five minutes, till he is again aſſailed by a freſh ſet with the ſame queſtions.

The firſt town you come to, going northward from Bottetourt County, is Lexington, a neat little place, that did contain about one hundred houſes, a court-houſe, and gaol; but the greater part of it was deſtroyed by fire juſt before I got there. Great numbers of Iriſh are ſettled in this place. Thirty miles farther on ſtands Staunton. This town carries on a conſiderable trade with the back country, and contains nearly two hundred dwellings, moſtly built of ſtone, together with a church. This was the firſt place on the entire road from Lynchburgh, one hundred and fifty miles diſtant, and which I was about ten days in travelling, where I was able to get a bit of freſh meat, excepting indeed on paſſing the Blue Mountains, where they brought me ſome ve-

* Kentucky.

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niſon that had been juſt killed. I went on fifty miles further, from Staunton, before I got any again. Salted pork, boiled with turnip tops by way of greens, or fried bacon, or fried ſalted fiſh, with warm ſallad, dreſſed with vinegar and the melted fat which remains in the frying-pan after dreſſing the bacon, is the only food to be got at moſt of the taverns in this country; in ſpring it is the conſtant food of the people in the country; and indeed, throughout the whole year, I am told, ſalted meat is what they moſt generally uſe.

In every part of America a European is ſurpriſed at finding ſo many men with military titles, and ſtill more ſo at ſeeing ſuch numbers of them employed in capacities apparently ſo inconſiſtent with their rank; for it is nothing uncommon to ſee a captain in the ſhape of a waggoner, a colonel the driver of a ſtage coach, or a general dealing out penny ribbon behind his counter; but no where, I believe, is there ſuch a ſuperfluity of theſe military perſonages as in the little town of Staunton; there is hardly a decent perſon in it, excepting lawyers and medical men, but what is a colonel, a major, or a captain. This is to be accounted for as follows: in America, every freeman from the age of ſixteen to fifty years, whoſe occupation does not abſolutely forbid it, muſt enrol himſelf in the militia. In Virginia alone, the militia amounts to about ſixty-two thouſand men, and it is divided into four diviſions and ſeventeen brigades, to each of which there is a general and other officers. Were there no officers therefore, excepting thoſe actually belonging to the militia, the number muſt be very great; but independent of the militia, there are alſo volunteer corps in moſt of the towns, which have likewiſe their reſpective officers. In Staunton there are two of theſe corps, one of cavalry, the other of artillery. Theſe are formed chiefly of men who find a certain degree of amuſement in exerciſing as ſoldiers, and who are alſo induced to aſſociate, by the vanity of appearing in regimentals. The militia is not aſſembled oftener than once in two or three months, and as it reſts with every individual to provide himſelf with arms and accoutrements, and no ſtreſs being laid upon coming in uniform, the appearance of the men is not very military. Numbers alſo of the officers of theſe volunteer corps, and of the militia, are reſigning

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every day; and if a man has been a captain or a colonel but one day, either in the one body or the other, it seems to be an eſtabliſhed rule that he is to have nominal rank the reſt of his life. Added to all, there are ſeveral officers of the old continental army neither in the militia nor in the volunteer corps.

Wincheſter ſtands one hundred miles to the northward of Staunton, and is the largeſt town in the United States on the weſtern ſide of the Blue Mountains. The houſes are eſtimated at three hundred and fifty, and the inhabitants at two thouſand. There are four churches in this town, which, as well as the houſes, are plainly built. The ſtreets are regular, but very narrow. There is nothing particularly deſerving of attention in this place, nor indeed in any of the other ſmall towns which have been mentioned, none of them containing more than ſeventy houſes each.

LETTER XVIII.

Deſcription of the Paſſage of Patowmac and Shenendoah Rivers through a Break in the Blue Mountains.—Some Obſervations on Mr. Jefferſon's Account of the Scene.—Summary Account of Maryland.—Arrival at Philadelphia.—Remarks on the Climate of the United States.—State of the City of Philadelphia during the Heat of Summer.—Difficulty of preſerving Butter, Milk, Meat, Fiſh, &c.—General Uſe of Ice.—Of the Winds.—State of Weather in America depends greatly upon them.

Philadelphia, June.

HAVING traverſed, in various directions, the country to the weſt of the Blue Mountains in Virginia, I came to the Patowmac, at the place where that river paſſes through the Blue Ridge, which Mr. Jefferſon, in his Notes upon Virginia, has repreſented as one of the moſt "ſtupendous "ſcenes in nature, and worth a voyage across the Atlantic." The ap-

proach towards the place is wild and romantic. After croſſing a number of ſmall hills, which riſe one above the other in ſucceſſion, you at laſt perceive the break in the Blue Ridge; at the ſame time the road ſuddenly turning, winds down a long and ſteep hill, ſhaded with lofty trees, whoſe branches unite over your head. On one ſide of the road there are large heaps of rocks above you, which ſeem to threaten deſtruction to any one that paſſes under them; on the other, a deep precipice preſents itſelf, at the bottom of which is heard the roaring of the waters, that are concealed from the eye by the thickneſs of the foliage. Towards the end of this hill, about ſixty feet above the level of the water, ſtands a tavern and a few houſes, and from ſome fields in the rear of them the paſſage of the river through the mountain is, I think, ſeen to the beſt advantage.

The Patowmac on the left comes winding along through a fertile country towards the mountain; on the right flows the Shenandoah: uniting together at the foot of the mountain, they roll on through the gap; then ſuddenly expanding to the breadth of about four hundred yards, they paſs on towards the ſea, and are finally loſt to the view amidſt ſurrounding hills. The rugged appearance of the ſides of the mountain towards the river, and the large rocks that lie ſcattered about at the bottom, many of which have evidently been ſplit aſunder by ſome great convulſion, "are monuments," as Mr. Jefferſon obſerves, "of the war that has taken place at this ſpot between rivers and mountains; and at firſt ſight they lead us into an opinion that mountains "were created before rivers began to flow; that the waters of the "Patowmac and Shenandoah were dammed up for a time by the Blue "Ridge, but continuing to riſe, that they at length broke through at "this ſpot, and tore the mountain aſunder from its ſummit to its baſe." Certain it is, that if the Blue Ridge could be again made entire, an immenſe body of water would be formed on the weſtern ſide of it, by the Shenandoah and Patowmac rivers, and this body of water would be deepeſt, and conſequently would act with more force in ſapping a paſſage for itſelf through the mountain at the identical ſpot where the gap now is than at any other, for this is the loweſt ſpot in a very extended

tract

tract of country. A glance at the map will be sufficient to satisfy any person on this point; it will at once be seen, that all the rivers of the adjacent country bend their courses hitherwards. Whether the ridge, however, was left originally entire, or whether a break was left in it for the passage of the rivers, it is impossible at this day to ascertain; but it is very evident that the sides of the gap have been reduced to their present rugged state by some great inundation. Indeed, supposing that the Patowmac and Shenandoah ever rose during a flood, a common circumstance in spring and autumn, only equally high with what James River did in 1795, that is fifteen feet above their usual level, such a circumstance might have occasioned a very material alteration in the appearance of the gap.

The Blue Ridge, on each side of the Patowmac, is formed, from the foundation to the summit, of large rocks deposited in beds of rich soft earth. This earth is very readily washed away, and in that case the rocks consequently become loose; indeed, they are frequently loosened even by heavy showers of rain. A proof of this came within my own observation, which I shall never forget. It had been raining excessively hard the whole morning of that day on which I arrived at this place; the evening however was very fine, and being anxious to behold the scene in every point of view, I crossed the river, and ascended the mountain at a steep part on the opposite side, where there was no path, and many large projecting rocks. I had walked up about fifty yards, when a large stone that I set my foot upon, and which appeared to me perfectly firm, all at once gave way; it had been loosened by the rain, and brought down such a heap of others with it in its fall, with such a tremendous noise at the same time, that I thought the whole mountain was coming upon me, and expected every moment to be dashed to pieces. I slid down about twenty feet, and then luckily caught hold of the branch of a tree, by which I clung; but the stones still continued to roll down heap after heap; several times, likewise, after all had been still for a minute or two, they again began to fall with increased violence. In this state of suspense I was kept for a considerable time, not knowing but that some stone larger than the rest might

give way, and carry down with it even the tree by which I held. Unacquainted alſo with the paths of the mountain, there ſeemed to me to be no other way of getting down, excepting over the fallen ſtones, a way which I contemplated with horror. Night however was coming on very faſt; it was abſolutely neceſſary to quit the ſituation I was in, and fortunately I got the bottom without receiving any further injury than two or three ſlight contuſions on my hips and elbows. The people congratulated me when I came back on my eſcape, and informed me, that the ſtones very commonly gave way in this manner after heavy falls of rain; but on the diſſolution of a large body of ſnow, immenſe rocks, they ſaid, would ſometimes roll down with a craſh that might be heard for miles. The conſequences then of a large rock towards the bottom of the mountain being undermined by a flood, and giving way, may be very readily imagined: the rock above it, robbed of its ſupport, would alſo fall; this would bring down with it numbers of others with which it was connected, and thus a diſruption would be produced from the baſe to the very ſummit of the mountain.

The paſſage of the rivers through the ridge at this place is certainly a curious ſcene, and deſerving of attention; but I am far from thinking with Mr. Jefferſon, that it is "one of the moſt ſtupendous ſcenes in na- "ture, and worth a voyage acroſs the Atlantic;" nor has it been my lot to meet with any perſon that had been a ſpectator of the ſcene, after reading his deſcription of it, but what alſo differed with him very materially in opinion. To find numberleſs ſcenes more ſtupendous, it would be needleſs to go farther than Wales. A river, it is true, is not to be met with in that country, equal in ſize to the Patowmac; but many are to be ſeen there ruſhing over their ſtony beds with much more turbulence and impetuoſity than either the Patowmac or Shenandoah: the rocks, the precipices, and the mountains of the Blue Ridge at this place are diminutive and unintereſting alſo, compared with thoſe which abound in that country. Indeed, from every part of Mr. Jefferſon's deſcription, it appears as if he had beheld the ſcene, not in its preſent ſtate, but at the very moment when the diſruption happened, and when every thing was in a ſtate of tumult and confuſion.

After

After croſſing the Patowmac, I paſſed on to Frederic in Maryland, which has already been mentioned, and from thence to Baltimore. The country between Frederic and Baltimore is by no means ſo rich as that weſt of the Blue Ridge, but it is tolerably well cultivated. Iron and copper are found here in many places. No works of any conſequence have as yet been eſtabliſhed for the manufacture of copper, but there are ſeveral extenſive iron works. The iron is of a remarkably tough quality; indeed, throughout the ſtates of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennſylvania, it is generally ſo; and the utenſils made of it, as pots, kettles, &c. though caſt much thinner than uſual in England, will admit of being pitched into the carts, and thrown about, without any danger of being broken. The forges and furnaces are all worked by negroes, who ſeem to be particularly ſuited to ſuch an occupation, not only on account of their ſable complexions, but becauſe they can ſuſtain a much greater degree of heat than white perſons without any inconvenience. In the hotteſt days in ſummer they are never without fires in their huts.

The farms and plantations in Maryland conſiſt, in general, of from one hundred to one thouſand acres. In the upper parts of the ſtate, towards the mountains, the land is divided into ſmall portions. Grain is what is principally cultivated, and there are few ſlaves. In the lower parts of the ſtate, and in this part of the country between Frederic and Baltimore, the plantations are extenſive; large quantities of tobacco are raiſed, and the labour is performed almoſt entirely by negroes. The perſons reſiding upon theſe large plantations live very ſimilar to the planters in Virginia: all of them have their ſtewards and overſeers, and they give themſelves but little trouble about the management of the lands. As in Virginia, the clothing for the ſlaves, and moſt of the implements for huſbandry, are manufactured on each eſtate. The quarters of the ſlaves are ſituated in the neighbourhood of the principal dwelling houſe, which gives the reſidence of every planter the appearance of a little village, juſt the ſame as in Virginia. The houſes are for the moſt part built of wood, and painted with Spaniſh brown; and in front there is generally a long porch, painted white.

From

From Baltimore I returned to Philadelphia, where I arrived on the fourteenth day of June, after having been abſent about three months. During the whole of that period the weather had been extremely variable, ſcarcely ever remaining alike four days together. As early as the fourteenth of March, in Pennſylvania, Fahrenheit's thermometer ſtood at 65° at noon day, though not more than a week before it had been ſo low as 14°. At the latter end of the month, in Maryland, I ſcarcely ever obſerved it higher than 50° at noon: the evenings were always cold, and the weather was ſqually and wet. In the northern neck of Virginia, for two or three days together, during the ſecond week in April, it roſe from 80° to 84°, in the middle of the day; but on the wind ſuddenly ſhifting, it fell again, and remained below 70° for ſome days. As I paſſed along through the lower parts of Virginia, I frequently afterwards obſerved it as high as 80° during the month of April; but on no day in the month of May, previous to the fourteenth, did it again riſe to the ſame height; indeed, ſo far from it, many of the days were too cold to be without fires; and on the night of the ninth inſtant, when I was in the neighbourhood of the South-weſt Mountains, ſo ſharp a froſt took place, that it deſtroyed all the cherries, and alſo moſt of the early wheat, and of the young ſhoots of Indian corn; in ſome particular places, for miles together, the young leaves of the foreſt trees even were all withered, and the country had exactly the appearance of November. On the tenth inſtant, the day after the froſt, the thermometer was as low as 46° in the middle of the day; yet four days afterwards it ſtood at 81°. During the remainder of the month, and during June, until I reached Philadelphia, it fluctuated between 60° and 80°; the weather was on the whole fine, but frequently for a day or two together the air felt extremely raw and diſagreeable. The changes in the ſtate of the atmoſphere were alſo ſometimes very ſudden. On the ſixth day of June, when on my way to Frederic Town, after paſſing the Patowmac River, the moſt remarkable change of this nature took place which I ever witneſſed. The morning had been oppreſſively hot; the thermometer at 81°, and the wind S. S. W. About one o'clock in the afternoon, a black cloud appeared in the horizon, and a tremendous guſt came on, accompanied by

thunder and lightning; ſeveral large trees were torn up by the roots by the wind; hailſtones, about three times the ſize of an ordinary pea, fell for a few minutes, and afterwards a torrent of rain came pouring down, nearly as if a water-ſpout had broken over head. Juſt before the guſt came on, I had ſuſpended my thermometer from a window with a northern aſpect, when it ſtood at 81°; but on looking at it at the end of twenty-three minutes, by which time the guſt was completely over, I found it down to 59°, a change of 22°. A north-weſt wind now ſet in, the evening was moſt delightful, and the thermometer again roſe to 65°. In Pennſylvania the thermometer has been known to vary fifty degrees in the ſpace of twenty-ſix hours.

The climate of the middle and ſouthern ſtates is extremely variable; the ſeaſons of two ſucceeding years are ſeldom alike; and it ſcarcely ever happens that a month paſſes over without very great viciſſitudes in the weather taking place. Doctor Rittenhouſe remarked, that whilſt he reſided in Pennſylvania, he diſcovered nightly froſts in every month of the year excepting July, and even in that month, during which the heat is always greater than at any other time of the year, a cold day or two ſometimes intervene, when a fire is found very agreeable.

The climate of the ſtate of New York is very ſimilar to that of Pennſylvania, excepting that in the northern parts of that ſtate, bordering upon Canada, the winters are always ſevere and long. The climate of New Jerſey, Delaware, and the upper parts of Maryland, is alſo much the ſame with that of Pennſylvania; in the lower parts of Maryland the climate does not differ materially from that of Virginia to the eaſtward of the Blue Ridge, where it very rarely happens that the thermometer is as low as 6° above cipher.

In Pennſylvania, the range of the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer has been obſerved to be from 24° below cipher to 105° above it; but it is an unuſual occurrence for the mercury to ſtand at either of theſe extreme points; in its approach towards them it commonly draws much nearer to the extreme of heat than to that of cold. During the winter of 1795, and the three preceding years, it did not ſink lower than 10° above cipher; a ſummer however ſeldom paſſes over that it does not riſe to 96°.

56°. It was mentioned as a ſingular circumſtance, that in 1789 the thermometer never roſe higher than 90°.

Of the oppreſſion that is felt from the ſummer heats in America, no accurate idea can be formed without knowing the exact ſtate of the hygrometer as well as the height of the thermometer. The moiſture of the air varies very much in different parts of the country; it alſo varies in all parts with the winds; and it is ſurpriſing to find what a much greater degree of heat can be borne without inconvenience when the air is dry than when it is moiſt. In New England, in a remarkably dry air, the heat is not found more inſupportable when the thermometer ſtands at 100°, than it is in the lower parts of the ſouthern ſtates, where the air is moiſt, when the thermometer ſtands perhaps at 90°, that is, ſuppoſing the wind to be in the ſame quarter in both places. In ſpeaking of Virginia I have taken notice of the great difference that is found between the climate of themountains and the climate of the low country in that ſtate. The caſe is the ſame in every other part of the country. From the mountains in New England, along the different ridges which run through New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and the ſouthern ſtates, even to the extremity of Georgia, the heat is never found very oppreſſive; whilſt as far north as Pennſylvania and New York, the heat in the low parts of the country, between the mountains and the ocean, is frequently intolerable.

In the courſe of the few days that I have ſpent in Philadelphia during this month, the thermometer has riſen repeatedly to 86° and for two or three days it ſtood at 93°. During theſe days no one ſtirred out of doors that was not compelled to do ſo; thoſe that could make it convenient with their buſineſs always walked with umbrellas to ſhade them from the ſun; light white hats were univerſally worn, and the young men appeared dreſſed in cotton or linen jackets and trowſers; every gleam of ſunſhine ſeemed to be conſidered as baneful and deſtructive; the window ſhutters of each houſe were cloſed early in the morning, ſo as to admit no more light than what was abſolutely neceſſary for domeſtic buſineſs; many of the houſes, indeed, were kept ſo dark, that on going into them from the ſtreet, it was impoſſible at firſt entrance to perceive who was preſent.

preſent. The beſt houſes in the city are furniſhed with Venetian blinds, at the outſide, to the windows and hall doors, which are made to fold together like common window ſhutters. Where they had theſe they conſtantly kept them cloſed, and the windows and doors were left open behind them to admit air. A very different ſcene was preſented in the city as ſoon as the ſun was ſet; every houſe was then thrown open, and the inhabitants all crowded into the ſtreets to take their evening walks, and viſit their acquaintance. It appeared every night as if ſome grand ſpectacle was to be exhibited, for not a ſtreet or alley was there but what was in a ſtate of commotion. This varied ſcene uſually laſted till about ten o'clock; at eleven there is no city in the world, perhaps, ſo quiet all the year round; at that hour you may walk over half the town without ſeeing the face of a human being, except the watchmen. Very heavy dews ſometimes fall after theſe hot days, as ſoon as the ſun is down, and the nights are then found very cold; at other times there are no dews, and the air remains hot all the night through. For days together in Philadelphia, the thermometer has been obſerved never to be lower than 80° during any part of the twenty-four hours.

I obſerve now that meat can never be kept, but in an ice houſe or a remarkable cold cellar, for one day, without being tainted. Milk generally turns ſour in the courſe of one or two hours after it comes from the cow. Fiſh is never brought to market without being covered with lumps of ice, and notwithſtanding that care, it frequently happens that it is not fit to be eat. Butter is brought to market likewiſe in ice, which they generally have in great plenty at every farm houſe; indeed it is almoſt conſidered as a neceſſary of life in theſe low parts of the country. Poultry intended for dinner is never killed till about four hours before the time it is wanted, and then it is kept immerſed in water, without which precaution it would be tainted. Notwithſtanding all this, I have been told, that were I to ſtay in Philadelphia till the latter end of July or beginning of Auguſt, I ſhould find the heat much more intolerable than it has been hitherto. Moſt of the other large ſea port towns, ſouth of Philadelphia, are equally hot and diſagreeable in ſummer; and Baltimore, Norfolk, and ſome others, even more ſo.

The winds in every part of the country make a prodigious difference in the temperature of the air. When the north-weſt wind blows, the heat is always found more tolerable than with any other, although the thermometer ſhould be at the ſame height. This wind is uncommonly dry, and brings with it freſh animation and vigour to every living thing. Although this wind is ſo very piercing in winter, yet I think the people never complain ſo much of cold as when the north-eaſt wind blows; for my own part I never found the air ſo agreeable, let the ſeaſon of the year be what it would, as with the north-weſt wind. The north-eaſt wind is alſo cold, but it renders the air raw and damp. That from the ſouth-eaſt is damp but warm. Rain or ſnow uſually falls when the wind comes from any point towards the eaſt. The ſouth-weſt wind, like the north-weſt, is dry; but it is attended generally with warm weather. When in a ſoutherly point, guſts, as they are called, that is, ſtorms attended with thunder, lightning, hail, and rain, are common.

It is a matter of no difficulty to account for theſe various effects of the winds in America. The north-weſt wind, from coming over ſuch an immenſe tract of land, muſt neceſſarily be dry; and coming from regions eternally covered with mounds of ſnow and ice, it muſt alſo be cold. The north-eaſt wind, from traverſing the frozen ſeas, muſt be cold likewiſe; but from paſſing over ſuch a large portion of the watry main afterwards, it brings damps and moiſtures with it. All thoſe from the eaſt are damp, and loaded with vapours, from the ſame cauſe. Southerly winds, from croſſing the warm regions between the tropics, are attended with heat; and the ſouth-weſt wind, from paſſing, like the north-weſt, over a great extent of land, is dry at the ſame time; none however is ſo dry as that from the north-weſt. It is ſaid, but with what truth I cannot take upon me to ſay, that weſt of the Alleghany and Appalachian mountains, which are all in the ſame range, the ſouth-weſt winds are cold and attended with rain. Thoſe great extremes of heat and cold, obſervable on the eaſtern ſide of the mountains, are unknown to the weſtward of them.

LETTER XIX.

Travelling in America without a Companion not pleaſant.—Meet two Engliſh Gentlemen.—Set out together for Canada.—Deſcription of the Country between Philadelphia and New York.—Briſtol.—Trenton.—Princeton.—College there.—Some Account of it.—Brunſwick.—Poſaik Water-fall.—Copper Mine.—Singular Diſcovery thereof.—New York.—Deſcription of the City.—Character and Manners of the Inhabitants.—Leave it abruptly on Account of the Fevers.—Paſſage up North River from New York to Albany.—Great Beauty of the North River.—Weſt Point.—Highlands.—Guſts of Wind common in paſſing them.—Albany.—Deſcription of the City and Inhabitants.—Celebration of the 4th of July.—Anniverſary of American Independence.

MY DEAR SIR, Albany, July.

I Was on the point of leaving Philadelphia for New York, intending from thence to proceed to Canada, when chance brought me into the company of two young gentlemen from England, each of whom was ſeparately preparing to ſet off on a ſimilar excurſion. A rational and agreeable companion, to whom you might communicate the reſult of your obſervations, and with whom you might interchange ſentiments on all occaſions, could not but be deemed a pleaſing acquiſition, I ſhould imagine, by a perſon on a journey through a foreign land. Were any one to be found, however, of a different opinion, I ſhould venture to affirm, that ere he travelled far through the United States of America, where there are ſo few inhabitants in proportion to the extent of the country; where, in going from one town to another, it is frequently neceſſary to paſs for many miles together through dreary woods; and where, even in the towns, a few of thoſe ſea-ports indeed excepted which are open to the Atlantic, there is ſuch ſameneſs in the cuſtoms, manners, and converſation of the inhabitants, and ſo little amongſt them that intereſts either the head or the heart; he would not only be induced

to think that a companion muſt add to the pleaſure of a journey, but were abſolutely neceſſary to prevent its appearing inſipid, and at times highly irkſome to him.

For my own part, I had fully determined in my own mind, upon returning from my tour beyond the Blue Mountains, never again to ſet out on a journey alone through any part of America, if I could poſſibly procure an agreeable companion. The gentlemen I met with had, as well as myſelf, travelled widely through different parts of the United States, and formed nearly the ſame reſolution; we accordingly agreed to go forward to Canada together, and having engaged a carriage for ourſelves as far as New York, we quitted the cloſe and diſagreeable city of Philadelphia on the twentieth of June.

The road, for the firſt twenty-five miles, runs very near the River Delaware, which appears to great advantage through openings in the woods that are ſcattered along its ſhores. From the town of Briſtol in particular, which ſtands on an elevated part of the banks, twenty miles above Philadelphia, it is ſeen in a moſt pleaſing point of view. The river, here about one mile wide, winds majeſtically round the point whereon the town is built, and for many miles, both upwards and downwards, it may be traced through a rich country, flowing gently along: in general it is covered with innumerable little ſloops and ſchooners. Oppoſite to Briſtol ſtands the city of Burlington, one of the largeſt in New Jerſey, built partly upon an iſland and partly on the main ſhore. It makes a good appearance, and adds conſiderably to the beauty of the proſpect from Briſtol.

Ten miles farther on, oppoſite to Trenton, which ſtands at the head of the ſloop navigation, you croſs the river. The falls or rapids, that prevent boats from aſcending any higher, appear in full view as you paſs, but their proſpect is in no way pleaſing; beyond them, the navigation may be purſued for upwards of one hundred miles in ſmall boats. Trenton is the capital of New Jerſey, and contains about two hundred houſes, together with four churches. The ſtreets are commodious, and the houſes neatly built. The ſtate-houſe, in which congreſs met for ſome time during the war, is a heavy clumſy edifice.

Twelve

Twelve miles from Trenton, ſtands Princeton, a neat town, containing about eighty dwellings in one long ſtreet. Here is a large college, held in much repute by the neighbouring ſtates. The number of ſtudents amounts to upwards of ſeventy; from their appearance, however, and the courſe of ſtudies they ſeem to be engaged in, like all the other American colleges I ever ſaw, it better deſerves the title of a grammar ſchool than a college. The library, which we were ſhewn, is moſt wretched, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of old theological books, not even arranged with any regularity. An orrery, contrived by Mr. Rittenhouſe, whoſe talents are ſo much boaſted of by his countrymen, ſtands at one end of the apartment, but it is quite out of repair, as well as a few detached parts of a philoſophical apparatus, encloſed in the ſame glaſs caſe. At the oppoſite end of the room are two ſmall cupboards, which are ſhewn as the muſeum. Theſe contain a couple of ſmall ſtuffed alligators, and a few ſingular fiſhes, in a miſerable ſtate of preſervation, the ſkins of them being tattered in innumerable places, from their being repeatedly toſſed about. The building is very plain, and of ſtone; it is one hundred and eighty feet in front, and four ſtories high.

The next ſtage from Princeton is Brunſwick, containing about two hundred houſes; there is nothing very deſerving of attention in it, excepting it be the very neat and commodious wooden bridge that has been thrown acroſs the Raritan River, which is about two hundred paces over. The part over the channel is contrived to draw up, and on each ſide is a footway guarded by rails, and ornamented with lamps. Elizabeth Town and Newark, which you afterwards paſs through in ſucceſſion, are both of them cheerful lively looking places: neither of them is paved. Newark is built in a ſtraggling manner, and has very much the appearance of a large Engliſh village: there is agreeable ſociety in this town. Theſe two towns are only eight miles apart, and each of them has one or two excellent churches, whoſe tall ſpires appear very beautiful as you approach at a diſtance, peeping up above the woods by which they are encircled.

The ſtate of New Jerſey, meaſured from north to ſouth, is about one hundred

hundred and ſixty miles in length; it varies in breadth from forty to eighty miles. The northern part of it is croſſed by the blue ridge of of mountains, running through Pennſylvania; and ſhooting off in different directions from this ridge, there are ſeveral other ſmall mountains in the neighbourhood. The ſouthern part of the ſtate, on the contrary, which lies towards the ſea, is extremely flat and ſandy; it is covered for miles together with pine trees alone, uſually called pine barrens, and is very little cultivated. The middle part, which is croſſed in going from Philadelphia to New York, abounds with extenſive tracts of good land; the ſoil varies, however, conſiderably, in ſome places being ſandy, in others ſtoney, and in others conſiſting of a rich brown mould. This part of the ſtate, as far as Newark, is on the whole well cultivated, and ſcattered about in different places are ſome excellent farm houſes; a good deal of uncleared land, however, ſtill remains. Beyond Newark the country is extremely flat and marſhy. Between the town and the Poſaick River there is one marſh, which alone extends upwards of twenty miles, and is about two miles wide where you paſs over it. The road is here formed with large logs of wood laid cloſe together, and on each ſide are ditches to keep it dry. This was the firſt place where we met with muſquitoes, and they annoyed us not a little in paſſing. Towards the latter end of the ſummer Philadelphia is much infeſted with them; but they had not made their appearance when we left that city. The Poſaik River runs cloſe upon the borders of this marſh, and there is an excellent wooden bridge acroſs it, ſomewhat ſimilar to that at New Brunſwick over the Raritan River. About fifteen miles above it there is a very remarkable fall in the river. The river, at the fall, is about forty yards wide, and flows with a gentle current till it comes within a few perches of the edge of the fall, when it ſuddenly precipitates itſelf, in one entire ſheet, over a ledge of rocks of nearly eighty feet in perpendicular height; below, it runs on through a chaſm, formed of immenſe rocks on each ſide; they are higher than the fall, and ſeem to have been once united together.

In this neighbourhood there is a very rich copper mine: repeated attempts have been made to work it; but whether the price of labour be

too

too great for ſuch an undertaking, or the proprietors have not proceeded with judgment, certain it is, that they have always miſcarried, and ſuſtained very conſiderable loſſes thereby. This mine was firſt diſcovered in 1751, by a perſon who, paſſing along about three o'clock in the morning, obſerved a blue flame, about the ſize of a man, iſſuing from the earth, which afterwards ſoon died away: he marked the place with a ſtake, and when the hill was opened, ſeveral large lumps of virgin copper were found. The vein of copper in the mine is ſaid to be much richer now than when firſt opened.

From the Poſaik to the North River the country is hilly, barren, and unintereſting, till you come very near the latter, when a noble view opens all at once of the city of New York on the oppoſite ſhore, of the harbour, and ſhipping. The river, which is very grand, can be traced for ſeveral miles above the city; the banks are very ſteep on the Jerſey ſide, and beautifully wooded, the trees almoſt dipping into the water: numbers of veſſels plying about in every part render the ſcene extremely ſprightly and intereſting.

New-York is built on an iſland of its own name, formed by the North and the Eaſt Rivers, and a creek or inlet connecting both of theſe together. The iſland is fourteen miles long, and, on an average, about one mile in breadth; at its ſouthern extremity ſtands the city, which extends from one river to the other. The North, or Hudſon River, is nearly two miles wide; the Eaſt, or the North-eaſt one, as it ſhould rather be called, is not quite ſo broad. The depth of water in each, cloſe to the city, is ſufficient for the largeſt merchant veſſels. The principal ſeat of trade, however, is on the Eaſt River, and moſt of the veſſels lie there, as during winter the navigation of that river is not ſo ſoon impeded by the ice. At this ſide of the town the houſes and ſtores are built as cloſely as poſſible. The ſtreets are narrow and inconvenient, and, as but too commonly is the caſe in ſeaport towns, very dirty, and, conſequently, during the ſummer ſeaſon, dreadfully unhealthy. It was in this part of the town that the yellow fever raged with ſuch violence in 1795; and during 1796, many perſons that remained very conſtantly there alſo fell victims to a fever, which, if not the yellow

fever, was very like it. The ſtreets near the North River are much more airy; but the moſt agreeable part of the town is in the neighbourhood of the battery, on the ſouthern point of the iſland, at the confluence of the two rivers. When New York was in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, this battery conſiſted of two or more tiers of guns, one above the other; but it is now cut down, and affords a moſt charming walk, and, on a ſummer's evening, is crowded with people, as it is open to the breezes from the ſea, which render it particularly agreeable at that ſeaſon. There is a fine view from it of the roads, Long and Staten Iſlands, and Jerſey ſhore. At the time of high water the ſcene is always intereſting on account of the number of veſſels ſailing in and out of port; ſuch as go into the Eaſt River paſs within a few yards of the walls of the battery.

From the battery a handſome ſtreet, about ſeventy feet wide, called Broadway, runs due north through the town; between it and the North River run ſeveral ſtreets at right angles, as you paſs which you catch a view of the water, and boats plying up and down; the diſtant ſhore of the river alſo is ſeen to great advantage. Had the ſtreets on the oppoſite ſide of Broadway been alſo carried down to the Eaſt River, the effect would have been beautiful, for Broadway runs along a ridge of high ground between the two rivers; it would have contributed alſo very much to the health of the place; if, added to this, a ſpacious quay had been formed the entire length of the city, on either ſide, inſtead of having the borders of the rivers crowded with confuſed heaps of wooden ſtore houſes, built upon wharfs projecting one beyond another in every direction, New York would have been one of the moſt beautiful ſea-ports in the world. All the ſea-ports in America appear to great diſadvantage from the water, when you approach near to them, from the ſhores being crowded in this manner with irregular maſſes of wooden houſes, ſtanding as it were in the water. The federal city, where they have already begun to erect the ſame kind of wooden wharfs and ſtore-houſes without any regularity, will be juſt the ſame. It is aſtoniſhing, that in laying out that city a grand quay was not thought of in the plan; it would certainly have afforded equal, if not greater accommoda-

tion

tion for the ſhipping, and it would have added wonderfully to the embelliſhment of the city.

Many of the private houſes in New York are very good, particularly thoſe in Broadway. Of the public buildings there are none which are very ſtriking. The churches and houſes for public worſhip amount to no leſs than twenty-two; four of them are for Preſbyterians, three for Epiſcopalians of the church of England, three for Dutch Reformiſts, two for German Lutherans and Calviniſts, two for Quakers, two for Baptiſts, two for Methodiſts, one for French Proteſtants, one for Moravians, one for Roman Catholics, and one for Jews.

According to the cenſus in 1790, the number of inhabitants in New York was found to be thirty thouſand one hundred and forty-eight free perſons, and two thouſand one hundred and eighty ſlaves; but at preſent the number is ſuppoſed to amount at leaſt to forty thouſand. The inhabitants have long been diſtinguiſhed above thoſe of all the other towns in the United States, except it be the people of Charleſton, for their politeneſs, gaiety, and hoſpitality; and, indeed, in theſe points they are moſt ſtrikingly ſuperior to the inhabitants of the other large towns. Their public amuſements conſiſt in dancing and card aſſemblies, and theatrical exhibitions; for the former a ſpacious ſuite of rooms has lately been erected. The theatre is of wood, and a moſt miſerable edifice it is; but a new one is now building on a grand ſcale, which, it is thought, will be as much too large for the town as the other is too ſmall.

Being anxious to proceed on our journey before the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and alſo particularly deſirous of quitting New York on account of the fevers, which, it was rumoured, were increaſing very faſt, we took our paſſage for Albany in one of the ſloops trading conſtantly on the North River, between New York and that place, and embarked on the ſecond day of July, about two o'clock in the afternoon. Scarcely a breath of air was ſtirring at the time; but the tide carried us up at the rate of about two miles and a half an hour. The ſky remained all day as ſerene as poſſible, and as the water was perfectly ſmooth, it reflected in a moſt beautiful manner the images of the various objects on the ſhore, and of the numerous veſſels diſperſed along

the river at different diſtances, and which ſeemed to glide along, as it were, by the power of magic, for the ſails all hung down looſe and motionleſs. The ſun, ſetting in all his glory, added freſh beauties to this calm and peaceable ſcene, and permitted us for the laſt time to behold the diſtant ſpires of New York, illumined by his parting rays. To deſcribe all the grand and beautiful proſpects preſented to the view on paſſing along this noble river, would be an endleſs taſk; all the various effects that can be ſuppoſed to ariſe from a happy combination of wood and water, of hill and dale, are here ſeen in the greateſt perfection. In ſome places the river expands to the breadth of five or ſix miles, in others it narrows to that of a few hundred yards, and in various parts it is interſperſed with iſlands; in ſome places again its courſe can be traced as far as the eye can reach, whilſt in others it is ſuddenly loſt to the view, as it winds between its lofty banks; here mountains covered with rocks and trees riſe almoſt perpendicularly out of the water; there a fine champaign country preſents itſelf, cultivated to the very margin of the river, whilſt neat farm houſes and diſtant towns embelliſh the charming landſcapes.

After ſunſet, a briſk wind ſprang up, which carried us on at the rate of ſix or ſeven miles an hour for a conſiderable part of the night; but for ſome hours we had to lie at anchor at a place where the navigation of the river was too difficult to proceed in the dark. Our ſloop was no more than ſeventy tons burthen by regiſter; but the accommodations ſhe afforded were moſt excellent, and far ſuperior to what might be expected on board ſo ſmall a veſſel; the cabin was equally large with that in a common merchant veſſel of three hundred tons, built for croſſing the ocean. This was owing to the great breadth of her beam, which was no leſs than twenty-two feet and a half although her length was only fifty-five feet. All the ſloops engaged in this trade are built nearly on the ſame conſtruction; ſhort, broad, and very ſhallow, few of them draw more than five or ſix feet water, ſo that they are only calculated for ſailing upon ſmooth water.

Early the next morning we found ourſelves oppoſite to Weſt Point, a place rendered remarkable in hiſtory by the deſertion of General Ar-

nold,

VIEW on the PATOWMAC RIVER, from Mount Vernon

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nold, during the American war, and the conſequent death of the unfortunate Major André. The fort ſtands about one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the water, on the ſide of a barren hill; no human creature appearing in it except the ſolitary centinel, who marched backwards and forwards on the ramparts overgrown with long graſs, it had a moſt melancholy aſpect that perhaps was heightened by the gloomineſs of the morning, and the recollection of all the circumſtances attending the unhappy fate of poor André.

Near Weſt Point there is alſo another poſt, called Fort Putnam, which, ſince the peace, has been ſuffered to get very much out of repair; however, ſteps are now taking to have it put in good order. Suppoſing that a rupture ſhould ever unfortunately again take place between Great Britain and the United States of America, theſe poſts would be of the greateſt conſequence, as they form a link in that chain of poſts which extend the whole way along the navigable waters that connect the Britiſh ſettlements with New York.

In this neighbourhood the highlands, as they are called, commence, and extend along the river on each ſide for ſeveral miles. The breadth of the river is here conſiderably contracted, and ſuch ſudden guſts of wind, coming from between the mountains, ſometimes blow through the narrow paſſes, that veſſels frequently have their topmaſts carried away. The captain of the ſloop we were in, ſaid, that his mainſail was once blown into tatters in an inſtant, and a part of it carried on ſhore. When the ſky is lowering, they uſually take in ſail going along this part of the river.

About four o'clock in the morning of the fourth of July we reached Albany, the place of our deſtination, one hundred and ſixty miles diſtant from New York.

Albany is a city, and contains about eleven hundred houſes; the number however is increaſing faſt, particularly ſince the removal of the ſtate government from New York. In the old part of the town the ſtreets are very narrow and the houſes are frightful; they are all built in the old Dutch taſte, with the gable end towards the ſtreet, and ornamented on the top with large iron weather cocks; but in that part which has been

lately erected, the ſtreets are commodious, and many of the houſes are handſome. Great pains have been taken to have the ſtreets well paved and lighted. Here are four places for public worſhip, and an hoſpital. Albany is in ſummer time a very diſagreeable place; it ſtands in a low ſituation, juſt on the margin of the river, which runs very ſlowly here, and towards the evening often exhales clouds of vapours; immediately behind the town, likewiſe, is a large ſand bank, that prevents a free circulation of air, while at the ſame time it powerfully reflects the rays of the ſun, which ſhines in full force upon it the whole day. Notwithſtanding all this, however, the climate is deemed very ſalubrious.

The inhabitants of this place, a few years ago, were almoſt entirely of Dutch extraction; but now ſtrangers are flocking to it from all quarters, as there are few places in America more advantageouſly ſituated for commerce. The flouriſhing ſtate of its trade has already been mentioned; it bids fair to rival that of New York in proceſs of time.

The fourth of July, the day of our arrival at Albany, was the anniverſary of the declaration of American independence, and on our arrival we were told that great preparations were making for its celebration *. A drum and trumpet, towards the middle of the day, gave notice of the commencement of the rejoicings, and on walking to a hill about a quarter of a mile from the town, we ſaw ſixty men drawn up, partly militia, partly volunteers, partly infantry, partly cavalry; the latter were clothed in ſcarlet, and mounted on horſes of various deſcriptions. About three hundred ſpectators attended. A few rounds were fired from a three pounder, and ſome volleys of ſmall arms. The firing was finiſhed before one hour was expired, and then the troops returned to town, a party of militia officers in uniform marching in the rear, under the ſhade of umbrellas, as the day was exceſſively hot. Having

* Our landlord, as ſoon as he found out who we were, immediately came to us, to requeſt that we would excuſe the confuſed ſtate in which his houſe was, as this was the anniverſary day of "American Independence," or, as ſome, indeed, more properly called it, of "American Repentance." We were all of us not a little ſurpriſed at this addreſs, and from ſuch a perſon; inſtances, however, are not wanting of people openly declaring, that they have never enjoyed ſo much quiet and happineſs in their own homes ſince the revolution as they did when the ſtates were the colonies of Great Britain. Amongſt the planters in Virginia I heard language of this ſort more than once.

reached

reached town, the whole body immediately diſperſed. The volunteer militia officers afterwards dined together, and ſo ended the rejoicings of the day; no public ball, no general entertainment was there of any deſcription. A day ſtill freſh in the memory of every American, and which appears ſo glorious in the annals of their country, would, it might be expected, have called forth more brilliant and more general rejoicings; but the downright phlegmatic people in this neighbourhood, intent upon making money, and enjoying the ſolid advantages of the revolution, are but little diſpoſed to waſte their time in what they conſider idle demonſtrations of joy.

LETTER XX.

Departure from Albany.—Difficulty of hiring a Carriage.—Arrival at Cohoz.—Deſcription of the curious Fall there of the Mohawk River.—Still-water.—Saratoga.—Few of the Works remaining there.—Singular Mineral Springs near Saratoga.—Fort Edward.—Miſs M'Crea cruelly murdered there by Indians.—Fort Ann, wretched Road thither.—Some Obſervations on the American Woods.—Horſes jaded.—Difficulty of getting forward.—Arrive at Skeneſborough.—Dreadfully infeſted by Muſquitoes.—Particular Deſcription of that Inſect.—Great Danger enſues ſometimes from their Bite.—Beſt Remedy.

MY DEAR SIR, Skeneſborough, July.

WE remained in Albany for a few days, and then ſet off for Skeneſborough, upon Lake Champlain, in a carriage hired for the purpoſe. The hiring of this vehicle was a matter attended with ſome trouble, and detained us longer in the town than we wiſhed to ſtay. There were only two carriages to be had in the whole place, and the owners having an underſtanding with each other, and thinking that we ſhould be forced to give whatever price they aſked, poſitively refuſed to let us have

have either of them for leſs than ſeventy dollars, equal to fifteen guineas. We on our part as poſitively refuſed to comply with a demand which we knew to be exorbitant, and reſolved to wait patiently in Albany for ſome other conveyance, rather than ſubmit to ſuch an impoſition. The fellows held out for two days, but at the end of that time one of them came to tell us we might have his carriage for half the price, and accordingly we took it.

Early the next morning we ſet off, and in about two hours arrived at the ſmall village of Cohoz, cloſe to which is the remarkable fall in the Mohawk River. This river takes its riſe to the north-eaſt of Lake Oneida, and after a courſe of one hundred and forty miles, diſembogues into the Hudſon or North River, about ten miles above Albany. The Cohoz Fall is about three miles diſtant from its mouth. The breadth of the river is three hundred yards; a ledge of rocks extends quite acroſs, and from the top of them the water falls about fifty feet perpendicular; the line of the fall from one ſide of the river to the other is nearly ſtraight. The appearance of this fall varies very much, according to the quantity of water; when the river is full, the water deſcends in an unbroken ſheet from one bank to the other, whilſt at other times the greater part of the rocks are left uncovered. The rocks are of a remarkable dark colour, and ſo alſo is the earth in the banks, which riſe to a great height on either ſide. There is a very pleaſing view of this cataract as you paſs over the bridge acroſs the river, about three quarters of a mile lower down.

From hence we proceeded along the banks of the Hudſon River, through the town of Stillwater, which receives its name from the uncommon ſtillneſs of the river oppoſite to it, and late in the evening reached Saratoga, thirty-five miles from Albany. This place contains about forty houſes, and a Dutch reformed church, but they are ſo ſcattered about that it has not the ſmalleſt appearance of a town.

In this neighbourhood, upon the borders of a marſh, are ſeveral very remarkable mineral ſprings; one of them, in the crater of a rock, of a pyramidical form, about five feet in height, is particularly curious. This rock ſeems to have been formed by the petrifaction of the water: all

J. Weld delt. P. Thomson sculpt.

VIEW of the COHOZ FALL.

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all the other ſprings are likewiſe ſurrounded with petrifactions of the ſame kind. The water in the principal ſpring, except at the beginning of the ſummer, when it regularly overflows, remains about eight inches below the rim of the crater, and bubbles up as if boiling. The crater is nine inches in diameter. The various properties of the water have not been yet aſcertained with any great accuracy; but it is ſaid to be impregnated with a foſſile acid and ſome ſaline ſubſtance; there is alſo a great portion of fixed air in it. An opportunity is here afforded for making ſome curious experiments.

If animals be put down into the crater, they will be immediately ſuffocated; but if not kept there too long they recover again upon being brought into the open air.

If a lighted candle be put down, the flame will be extinguiſhed in an inſtant, and not even the ſmalleſt ſpark left in the wick.

If the water immediately taken from the ſpring be put into a bottle, cloſely corked, and then ſhaken, either the cork will be forced out with an exploſion, or the bottle will be broken; but if left in an open veſſel it becomes vapid in leſs than half an hour. The water is very pungent to the taſte, and acts as a cathartic on ſome people, as an emetic on others.

Of the works thrown up at Saratoga by the Britiſh and American armies during the war, there are now ſcarcely any remains. The country round about is well cultivated, and the trenches have been moſtly levelled by the plough. We here croſſed the Hudſon River, and proceeded along its eaſtern ſhore as far as Fort Edward, where it is loſt to the view, for the road ſtill runs on towards the north, whilſt the river takes a ſudden bend to the weſt.

Fort Edward was diſmantled prior to the late American war; but the oppoſite armies, during that unhappy conteſt, were both in the neighbourhood. Many of the people, whom we found living here, had ſerved as ſoldiers in the army, and told us a number of intereſting particulars relative to ſeveral events which happened in this quarter. The landlord of the tavern where we ſtopped, for one, related all the circumſtances attending Miſs Mc Crea's death, and pointed out on a hill, not far from the

the houſe, the very ſpot where ſhe was murdered by the Indians, and the place of her interment. This beautiful young lady had been engaged to an officer in General Burgoyne's army, who, anxious for her ſafety, as there were ſeveral marauding parties going about in the neighbourhood where ſhe lived, ſent a party of truſty Indians to eſcort her to the camp. Theſe Indians had partly executed their commiſſion, and were approaching with their charge in ſight of the Britiſh camp, when they were met by another ſet of Indians belonging to a different tribe, that was alſo attending the Britiſh army at this time. In a few minutes it became a matter of diſpute between them which ſhould have the honour of conducting her to the camp; from words they came to blows, and blood was on the point of being drawn, when one of their chiefs, to ſettle the matter without farther miſchief, went up to Miſs M'Crea, and killed her on the ſpot with a blow of his tomahawk. The object of contention being thus removed, the Indians returned quietly to the camp. The enormity of the crime, however, was too great not to attract public notice, and it turned the minds of every perſon againſt the Indians, who had not before witneſſed their ferocity on occaſions equally ſhocking to humanity. The impolicy of employing ſuch barbarians was now ſtrongly reprobated, and in a ſhort time afterwards moſt of them were diſmiſſed from our army.

Fort Edward ſtands near the river. The town of the ſame name, is at the diſtance of one or two hundred yards from it, and contains about twenty houſes. Thus far we had got on tolerably well; but from hence to Fort Anne, which was alſo diſmantled prior to the late war, the road is moſt wretched, particularly over a long cauſeway between the two forts, formed originally for the tranſporting of cannon, the ſoil here being extremely moiſt and heavy. The cauſeway conſiſts of large trees laid ſide by ſide tranſverſely, ſome of which having decayed, great intervals are left, wherein the wheels of the carriage were ſometimes locked ſo faſt that the horſes alone could not poſſibly extricate them. To have remained in the carriage over this part of the road would really have been a ſevere puniſhment; for although boaſted of as being the very beſt in Albany, it had no ſort of ſprings, and

was

was in fact little better than a common waggon; we therefore alighted, took our guns, and amuſed ourſelves with ſhooting as we walked along through the woods. The woods here had a much more majeſtic appearance than any that we had before met with on our way from Philadelphia; this, however, was owing more to the great height than to the thickneſs of the trees, for I could not ſee one that appeared more than thirty inches in diameter; indeed, in general, the girt of the trees in the woods of America is but very ſmall in proportion to their height, and trifling in compariſon of that of the foreſt trees in Great Britain. The thickeſt tree I ever ſaw in the country was a ſycamore, which grew upon the banks of the Shenandoah River, juſt at its junction with the Patowmac, in a bed of rich earth, cloſe to the water; yet this tree was no more than about four feet four inches in diameter. On the low grounds in Kentucky, and on ſome of the bottoms in the weſtern territory, it is ſaid that trees are commonly to be met with ſeven and eight feet in diameter. Where this is the caſe, the trees muſt certainly grow much farther apart than they do in the woods in the middle ſtates, towards the Atlantic, for there they ſpring up ſo very cloſe to each other, that it is abſolutely impoſſible for them to attain to a great diameter.

The woods here were compoſed chiefly of oaks*, hiccory, hemlock, and beech trees, intermixed with which, appeared great numbers of the ſmooth bark or Weymouth pines, as they are called, that ſeem almoſt peculiar to this part of the country. A profuſion of wild raſpberries were growing in the woods here, really of a very good flavour: they are commonly found in the woods to the northward of this; in Canada they abound every where.

Beyond Fort Anne, which is ſituated at the diſtance of eight miles from Fort Edward, the roads being better, we once more mounted into our vehicle; but the miſerable horſes, quite jaded, now made a dead ſtop; in vain the driver bawled, and ſtamped, and ſwore; his whip had been previouſly worn out ſome hours, owing to the frequent uſe he had

* There are upwards of twenty different kinds of oaks in America.

made of it, and the animals no longer feeling its heavy lash, seemed as determined as the mules of the abbefs of Andouillets to go no farther. In this situation we could not help bantering the fellow upon the excellence of his cattle, which he had boasted so much of at setting out, and he was ready to cry with vexation at what we said; but having accidentally mentioned the sum we had paid for the carriage, his passion could no longer be restrained, and it broke forth in all its fury. It appeared that he was the owner of two of the horses, and for the use of them, and for driving the carriage, was to have had one half of the hire; but the man whom we had agreed with, and paid at Albany, had given him only ten dollars as his moiety, assuring him, at the same time, that it was exactly the half of what we had given, although in reality it fell short of the sum by seven dollars and a half. Thus cheated by his companion, and left in the lurch by his horses, he vowed vengeance against him on his return; but as protestations of this nature would not bring us any sooner to our journey's end, and as it was necessary that something should be immediately done, if we did not wish to remain all night in the woods, we suggested the idea, in the mean time, of his conducting the foremost horses as postillion, whilst one of our servants should drive the pair next to the wheel. This plan was not started with any degree of seriousness, for we could not have supposed that a tall meagre fellow, upwards of six feet high, and clad in a pair of thin nankeen breeches, would very readily bestride the raw boned back of a horse, covered with the profuse exudations which the intense heat of the weather, and the labour the animal had gone through, necessarily excited. As much tired, however, of our pleasantries as we were of his vehicle, and thinking of nothing, I believe, but how he could best get rid of us, he eagerly embraced the proposal, and accordingly, having furnished himself with a switch from the adjoining thicket, he mounted his harnessed Rosinante. In this style we proceeded; but more than once did our gigantic postillion turn round to bemoan the sorry choice he had made; as often did we urge the necessity of getting out of the woods; he could make no answer; so jogging slowly along, we at last reached the little town of Skenesborough, much to the amusement of every one who

who beheld our equipage, and much to our own ſatisfaction; for, owing to the various accidents we had met with, ſuch as traces breaking, bridles ſlipping off the heads of the horſes, and the noble horſes themſelves ſometimes ſlipping down, &c. &c. we had been no leſs than five hours in travelling the laſt twelve miles.

Skeneſborough ſtands juſt above the junction of Wood Creek with South River, as it is called in the beſt maps, but which, by the people in the neighbourhood, is conſidered as a part of Lake Champlain. At preſent there are only about twelve houſes in the place; but if the navigation of Wood Creek is ever opened, ſo as to connect Lake Champlain with the North River, a ſcheme which has already been ſeriouſly thought of, it will, doubtleſs, ſoon become a trading town of conſiderable importance, as all the various productions of the ſhores of the lake will then be collected there for the New York and Albany markets. Notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages of a land carriage of forty miles to the North River, a ſmall portion of flour and pot-aſh, the ſtaple commodities of the ſtate of New York, is already ſent to Skeneſborough from different parts of the lake, to be forwarded to Albany. A conſiderable trade alſo is carried on through this place, and over Lake Champlain, between New York and Canada. Furs and horſes principally are ſent from Canada, and in return they get Eaſt Indian goods and various manufactures. Lake Champlain opens a very ready communication between New York and the country bordering on the St. Lawrence; it is emphatically called by the Indians, Caniad—Eri Guarunte, the mouth or door of the country.

Skeneſborough is moſt dreadfully infeſted with muſquitoes; ſo many of them attacked us the firſt night of our ſleeping there, that when we aroſe in the morning our faces and hands were covered all over with large puſtules, preciſely like thoſe of a perſon in the ſmall pox. This happened too notwithſtanding that the people of the houſe, before we went to bed, had taken all the pains poſſible to clear the room of them, by fumigating it with the ſmoke of green wood, and afterwards ſecuring the windows with gauze blinds; and even on the ſecond night, although we deſtroyed many dozens of them on the walls, after a ſimi-

lar fumigation had been made, yet we ſuffered nearly as much. Theſe inſects were of a much larger ſize than any I ever ſaw elſewhere, and their bite was uncommonly venomous. General Waſhington told me, that he never was ſo much annoyed by muſquitoes in any part of America as in Skenesborough, for that they uſed to bite through the thickeſt boot. The ſituation of the place is indeed peculiarly favourable for them, being juſt on the margin of a piece of water, almoſt ſtagnant, and ſhaded with thick woods. The muſquito is of the ſame ſpecies with the common gnat in England, and reſembles it very cloſely both in ſize and ſhape. Like the gnat it lays its eggs on the ſurface of the water, where they are hatched in the courſe of a few days, unleſs the water is agitated, in which laſt caſe they are all deſtroyed. From the egg is produced a grub, which changes to a chryſalis, and afterwards to a muſquito; this laſt change takes place on the ſurface of the water, and if at the moment that the inſect firſt ſpreads its wings the water is not perfectly ſtill and the air calm, it will be inevitably deſtroyed; at thoſe parts of the lake, therefore, which are moſt expoſed, and where the water is often agitated, no ſuch thing as a muſquito is ever ſeen; neither are they ever found along a large and rapid river, where the ſhores are lofty and dry; but in the neighbourhood of marſhes, low grounds, and ſtagnant waters, they always abound. Muſquitoes appear to be particularly fond of the freſh blood of Europeans, who always ſuffer much more the firſt year of their arrival in America than they do afterwards. The people of the country ſeem quite to diſregard their attacks. Wherever they fix their ſting, a little tumor or puſtule uſually ariſes, ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the fermentation, when mixed with the blood, of a ſmall quantity of liquor which the inſect always injects into the wound it makes with its ſpicula, as may be ſeen through a microſcope, and which it probably does to render the blood more fluid. The diſagreeable itching this excites is moſt effectually allayed by the application of volatile alkali; or if the part newly ſtung be ſcratched, and immediately bathed in cold water, that alſo affords conſiderable relief; but after the venom has been lodged for any time, ſcratching only increaſes the itching, and it may be attended with great danger. Repeated inſtances

inſtances have occurred of people having been laid up for months, and narrowly eſcaping the loſs of a limb, from imprudently rubbing a part which had been bitten for a long time. Great eaſe is alſo derived from opening the puſtules on the ſecond day with a lancet, and letting out the blood and watery matter.

LETTER XXI.

Embark on Lake Champlain.—Difficulty of procuring Proviſions at Farms bordering upon it.—Ticonderoga.—Crown Point.—Great Beauty of the Scenery.—General Deſcription of Lake Champlain and the adjacent Country. Captain Thomas and his Indians arrive at Crown Point.—Character of Thomas.—Reach St. John's.—Deſcription of that Place.—Great Difference obſervable in the Face of the Country, Inhabitants, &c. in Canada and in the States.—Chambly Caſtle.—Caliſhes.—Bons Dieux.—Town of La Prairie.—Great Rapidity of the River Saint Lawrence.—Croſs it to Montreal.—Aſtoniſhment on ſeeing large Ships at Montreal.—Great Depth of the River.

Montreal, July.

SHORTLY after our arrival in Skeneſborough, we hired a ſmall boat of about ten tons for the purpoſe of croſſing Lake Champlain. It was our wiſh to proceed on the voyage immediately; but the owner of the boat aſſerting that it was impoſſible to go out with the wind then blowing, we were for three days detained in Skeneſborough, a delicious feaſt for the hungry muſquitoes. The wind ſhifted again and again, ſtill it was not fair in the opinion of our boatman. At laſt, being moſt heartily tired of our quarters, and ſuſpecting that he did not underſtand his buſineſs as well as he ought to have done, we reſolved not to abide by his opinion any longer, but to make an attempt at beating out, and we had great reaſon to be pleaſed with having done ſo, as we arrived in Canada

Canada three days before any of the other boats, that did not venture to move till the wind was quite aft.

We set off about one o'clock; but from the channel being very narrow, it was impossible to make much way by tacking. We got no farther than six miles before sun-set. We then stopped, and having landed, walked up to some farm houses, which appeared at a distance, on the Vermont shore, to procure provisions; for the boatman had told us it was quite unnecessary to take in any at Skenesborough, as there were excellent houses close to the shore the whole way, where we could get whatever we wished. At the first we went to, which was a comfortable log-house, neither bread, nor meat, nor milk, nor eggs, were to be had; the house was crowded with children of all ages, and the people, I suppose, thought they had but little enough for themselves. At a second house, we found a venerable old man at the door, reading a newspaper, who civilly offered it to us for our perusal, and began to talk upon the politics of the day; we thanked him for his offer, and gave him to understand, at the same time, that a loaf would be much more acceptable. Bread there was none; we got a new Vermont cheese, however. A third house now remained in sight, and we made a third attempt at procuring something to eat. This one was nearly half a mile off, but alas! it afforded still less than the last; the people had nothing to dispose of but a little milk. With the milk and the cheese, therefore, we returned to our boat, and adding thereto some biscuits and wine, which we had luckily on board, the whole afforded us a frugal repast.

The people at the American farm houses will cheerfully lie three in a bed, rather than suffer a stranger to go away who comes to seek for a lodging. As all these houses, however, which we had visited, were crowded with inhabitants, we felt no great inclination to ask for accommodation at any of them, but determined to sleep on board our little vessel. We accordingly moored her at a convenient part of the shore, and each of us having wrapped himself up in a blanket, which we had been warned to provide on leaving New York, we laid ourselves down to sleep. The boat was decked two thirds of her length forward, and had

had a commodious hold; we gave the preference, however, becauſe more airy, to the cabin or after part, fitted up with benches, and covered with a wooden awning, under which a man could juſt ſit upright, provided he was not very tall. The benches, which went lengthwiſe, accommodated two of us; and the third was obliged to put up with the cabin floor; but a blanket and a bare board, out of the way of muſquitoes, were luxuries after our accommodations at Skeneſborough; our ears were not aſſailed by the noiſe even of a ſingle one the whole night, and we enjoyed ſounder repoſe than we had done for many nights preceding.

The wind remained nearly in the ſame point the next morning, but the lake being wider, we were enabled to proceed faſter. We ſtopped at one houſe to breakfaſt, and at another to dine. At neither of theſe, although they bore the name of taverns, were we able to procure much more than at the houſes where we had ſtopped the preceding evening. At the firſt we got a little milk, and about two pounds of bread, abſolutely the whole of what was in the houſe; and at the ſecond, a few eggs, and ſome cold ſalted fat pork; but not a morſel of bread was to be had. The wretched appearance alſo of this laſt habitation was very ſtriking; it conſiſted of a wooden frame, merely with a few boards nailed againſt it, the crevices between which were the only apertures for the admiſſion of light, except the door; and the roof was ſo leaky, that we were ſprinkled with the rain even as we ſat at the fire ſide. That people can live in ſuch a manner, who have the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life within their reach, as much as any others in the world, is really moſt aſtoniſhing! It is, however, to be accounted for, by that deſire of making money, which is the predominant feature in the character of the Americans in general, and leads the petty farmer in particular to ſuffer numberleſs inconveniencies, when he can gain by ſo doing. If he can ſell the produce of his land to advantage, he keeps as ſmall a part of it as poſſible for himſelf, and lives the whole year round upon ſalt proviſions, bad bread, and the fiſh he can catch in the rivers or lakes in the neighbourhood; if he has built a comfortable houſe for himſelf, he readily quits it, as ſoon as finiſhed, for money, and

goes to live in a mere hovel in the woods till he gets time to build another. Money is his idol, and to procure it he gladly foregoes every self-gratification.

From this miserable habitation, just mentioned, we departed as soon as the rain was over, and the wind coming round in our favour, we got as far as Ticonderoga that night. The only dwelling here is the tavern, which is a large house built of stone. On entering it we were shewn into a spacious apartment, crowded with boatmen and people that had just arrived from St. John's, in Canada. Seeing such a number of guests in the house, we expected nothing less than to be kept an hour or two till sufficient supper was prepared for the whole company, so that all might sit down at once together, which, as I have before said, is the custom in the country parts of the United States. Our surprise therefore was great at perceiving a neat table and a comfortable little supper speedily laid out for us, and no attempts made at serving the rest of the company till we had quite finished. This was departing from the system of equality in a manner which we had never witnessed before, and we were at a loss for some time to account for it; but we presently heard that the woman of the house had kept a tavern for the greater part of her life at Quebec, which resolved the knotty point. The wife is generally the active person in managing a country tavern, and the husband attends to his farm, or has some independent occupation. The man of this house was a judge, a sullen demure old gentleman, who sat by the fire *, with tattered clothes and dishevelled locks, reading a book, totally regardless of every person in the room.

The old fort and barracks of Ticonderoga are on the top of a rising ground, just behind the tavern; they are quite in ruins, and it is not likely that they will ever be rebuilt, for the situation is very insecure, being commanded by a lofty hill called Mount Defiance. The British got possession of the place the last war by dragging cannon and mortars up the hill, and firing down upon the fort.

* Though this was the 14th day of July, the weather was so cold that we found a fire extremely agreeable.

Early

Early the next morning we left Ticonderoga, and purſued our voyage to Crown Point, where we landed to look at the old fort. Nothing is to be ſeen there, however, but a heap of ruins; for ſhortly before it was given up by the Britiſh, the powder magazine blew up, by which accident a great part of the works was deſtroyed; ſince the evacuation of it alſo, the people in the neighbourhood have been continually digging in different parts, in hopes of procuring lead and iron ſhot; a conſiderable quantity was in one inſtance got out of the ſtores that had been buried by the exploſion. The vaults, which were bomb proof, have been demoliſhed for the ſake of the bricks for building chimneys. At the ſouth ſide alone the ditches remain perfect; they are wide and deep, and cut through immenſe rocks of limeſtone; and from being overgrown towards the top with different kinds of ſhrubs, have a grand and picturesque appearance. The view from this ſpot of the fort, and the old buildings in it overgrown with ivy, of the lake, and of the diſtant mountains beyond it, is indeed altogether very fine. The fort, and ſeven hundred acres of good cleared land adjoining to it, are the property of the ſtate of New York, and are leaſed out at the rate of one hundred and fifty dollars, equal to £. 33. 10 s. ſterling per annum, which is appropriated for the uſe of a college. The farmer who rented it told us, he principally made uſe of the land for grazing cattle; theſe, in the winter ſeaſon, when the lake was frozen, he drove over the ice to Albany, and there diſpoſed of.

Crown Point is the moſt advantageous ſpot on the ſhores of Lake Champlain for a military poſt, not being commanded by any riſing grounds in the neighbourhood, as Ticonderoga is, and as the lake is ſo narrow here, owing to another point running out on the oppoſite ſide, that it would be abſolutely impoſſible for a veſſel to paſs, without being expoſed to the fire of the fort. The Indians call this place Tek-ya-doughnigarigee, that is, the two points immediately oppoſite to each other: the one oppoſite to Crown Point is called Chimney Point; upon it are a few houſes, one of which is a tavern. While we ſtaid there we were very agreeably ſurpriſed, for the firſt time, with the ſight of a large birch canoe upon the lake, navigated by two or three Indians in the dreſſes of

their nation. They made for the ſhore and ſoon landed; and ſhortly after another party, amounting to ſix or ſeven, arrived, that had come by land.

On board our little veſſel we had a poor Canadian, whom we took in at Skeneſborough. Tempted by the accounts he had heard of the United States, he quitted his own home in Canada, where he lived under one of the ſeigniors, and had gone as far as Albany, in the neighbourhood of which place he had worked for ſome time with a farmer; but finding, that although he got higher wages, he had to pay much more for his proviſions than in Canada, and that he was alſo moſt egregiouſly cheated by the people, and particularly by his employer, from whom he could not get even the money he had earned; finding likewiſe that he was unable to procure any redreſs, from being ignorant of the Engliſh language, the poor fellow determined to return to Canada, and on his way thither we met him, without a ſhilling in his pocket.

Having aſked this little fellow, as we ſailed along, ſome queſtions about the Indians, he immediately gave us a long account of a Captain Thomas, a chief of the Cachenonaga nation, in the neighbourhood of whoſe village he ſaid he lived. Thomas, he told us, was a very rich man, and had a moſt excellent houſe, in which he ſaid he lived as well as a ſeignior, and he was ſure we ſhould be well received if we went to ſee him; he told us alſo that he had built a church, and was a chriſtian; that he was very charitable, and that if he were acquainted with his preſent diſtreſs he would certainly make him a preſent of four or five dollars. "Oh je vous aſſure, meſſieurs, que c'eſt un bon ſauvage." It was impoſſible not to ſmile at the little Canadian, who, half naked himſelf, and nearly as dark as a mulatto, concluded his panegyric upon Thomas, by aſſuring us, "he was a good ſavage;" at the ſame time we felt a ſtrong deſire to behold this chief, of whom we had heard ſo much. It was not long before we were gratified, for the party of Indians that arrived whilſt we were at Chimney Point were from the Cachenonaga village, and at their head was Captain Thomas.

Thomas appeared to be about forty-five years of age; he was nearly ſix feet high, and very bulky in proportion: this is a ſort of make uncommon

uncommon among the Indians, who are generally ſlender. He was dreſſed like a white man, in boots; his hair untied, but cut ſhort; the people who attended him were all in the Indian habit. Not one of his followers could ſpeak a word of Engliſh or French; Thomas, however, could himſelf ſpeak both languages. Engliſh he ſpoke with ſome little heſitation, and not correctly; but French ſeemed as familiar to him as his native tongue. His principal attention ſeemed to be directed towards trade, which he had purſued with great ſucceſs, ſo much ſo, indeed, that, as we afterwards heard, he could get credit in any ſtore in Montreal for five hundred pounds. He had along with him at Chimney Point thirty horſes and a quantity of furs in the canoe, which he was taking for ſale to Albany. His people, he told us, had but very few wants; he took care to have theſe always ſupplied; in return they brought him furs, taken in hunting; they attended his horſes, and voluntarily accompanied him when he went on a trading expedition: his profits therefore muſt be immenſe. During the courſe of converſation he told us, that if we came to ſee him he would make us very happy; that there were ſome very handſome ſquaws * in his village, and that each of us ſhould have a wife: we promiſed to viſit him if it was in our power, and parted very good friends. Thomas, as we afterwards found, is not a man reſpected among the Indians in general, who think much more of a chief that is a good warrior and hunter, and that retains the habits of his nation, than of one that becomes a trader, and aſſimilates his manners to thoſe of the whites.

Lake Champlain is about one hundred and twenty miles in length, and is of various breadths: for the firſt thirty miles, that is, from South River to Crown Point, it is in no place more than two miles wide; beyond this, for the diſtance of twelve miles, it is five or ſix miles acroſs, but then again it narrows, and again at the end of a few miles expands. That part called the Broad Lake, becauſe broader than any other, commences about twenty-five miles north of Crown Point, and is eighteen miles acroſs in the wideſt part. Here the lake is interſperſed with a great number of iſlands, the largeſt of which, formerly called Grande Iſle, now South Hero, is fifteen miles in length, and, on an

* Female Indians.

average, about four in breadth. The ſoil of this iſland is fertile, and it is ſaid that five hundred people are ſettled upon it. The Broad Lake is nearly fifty miles in length, and gradually narrows till it terminates in a large river called Chambly, Richlieu, or Sorelle, which runs into the St. Lawrence.

The ſoundings of Lake Champlain, except at the narrow parts at either end, are in general very deep; in many places ſixty and ſeventy, and in ſome even one hundred fathoms. In proportion to its breadth and depth, the water is more or leſs clear; in the broad part it is as pure and tranſparent as poſſible. On the weſt ſide, as far as Cumberland Bay, the lake is bounded for the moſt part by ſteep mountains cloſe to the edge of the water; at Cumberland Bay the ridge of mountains runs off to the north weſt, and the ſhore farther on is low and ſwampy. The Eaſt or Vermont ſhore is not much elevated, except in a few particular places; at the diſtance of twelve miles, however, from the lake is a conſiderable mountain. The ſhores on both ſides are very rocky; where there are mountains theſe rocks jut out very boldly; but at the eaſt ſide, where the land is low, they appear but a little above the water. The iſlands alſo, for the moſt part, are ſurrounded with rocks, in ſome parts, ſhelving down into the lake, ſo that it is dangerous to approach within one or two miles of them at particular ſides. From ſome parts of the eaſtern ſhore the rocks alſo run out in the ſame manner for a conſiderable diſtance. Sailing along the ſhore when a breeze is blowing, a hollow murmuring noiſe is always heard from the waters ſplaſhing into the crannies of theſe rocks. There are many ſtreams which fall into the lake: the mouths of all thoſe on the weſtern ſide are obſtructed by falls, ſo that none of them are navigable. Of thoſe on the eaſtern or Vermont ſide, a few only are navigable for ſmall boats, and that for a ſhort diſtance.

The ſcenery along various parts of the lake is extremely grand and pictureſque, particularly beyond Crown Point; the ſhores are there beautifully ornamented with hanging woods and rocks, and the mountains on the weſtern ſide riſe up in ranges one behind the other in the moſt magnificent manner. It was on one of the fineſt evenings poſſible

that we paſſed along this part of the lake, and the ſun ſetting in all his glory behind the mountains, ſpread the richeſt tints over every part of the proſpect; the moon alſo appearing nearly in the full, ſhortly after the day had cloſed, afforded us an opportunity of beholding the ſurrounding ſcenery in freſh though leſs brilliant colours. Our little bark was now gliding ſmoothly along, whilſt every one of us remained wrapt up in ſilent contemplation of the ſolemn ſcene, when ſuddenly ſhe ſtruck upon one of the ſhelving rocks: nothing but hurry and confuſion was now viſible on board, every one lending his aſſiſtance; however, at laſt, with ſome difficulty, we got her off; but in a minute ſhe ſtruck a ſecond time, and after we had again extricated her, even a third and a fourth time; at laſt ſhe ſtuck ſo faſt that for a ſhort time we deſpaired of being able to move her. At the end of a quarter of an hour, however, we again fortunately got her into deep water. We had before ſuſpected that our boatman did not know a great deal about the navigation of the lake, and on queſtioning him now, it came out, that he had been a cobler all his life, till within the laſt nine months, when he thought proper to change his buſineſs, and turn ſailor. All the knowledge he had of the ſhores of the lake, was what he had picked up during that time, as he ſailed ſtraight backward and forward between St. John's and Skeneſborough. On the preſent occaſion he had miſtaken one bay for another, and had the waves been as high as they ſometimes are, the boat would inevitably have been daſhed to pieces.

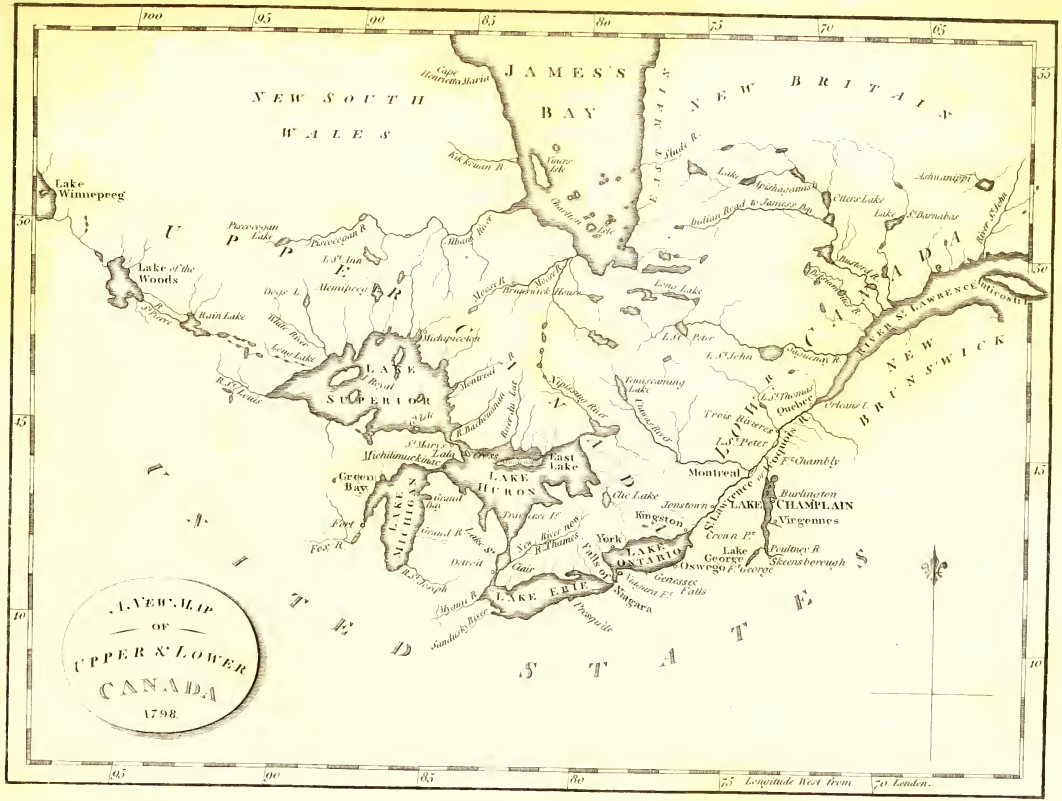
The humble roof of another judge, a plain Scotch labourer, afforded us ſhelter for this night. It was near eleven o'clock, however, when we got there, and the family having retired to reſt we had to remain rapping and calling at the door for half an hour at leaſt, before we could get admittance. The people at laſt being rouſed, opened their doors, cheerfully got us ſome ſupper, and prepared their beſt beds for us. In the morning, having paid our reckoning to the judge, he returned to his plough, and we to our boat to proſecute our voyage.

We ſet off this day with a remarkable fine breeze, and being deſirous of terminating our voyage as ſoon as poſſible, of which we began now to be ſomewhat tired, we ſtopped but once in the courſe of the day, and determined

determined to ſail on all night. A ſhort time after ſun-ſet we paſſed the boundary between the Britiſh dominions and the United States. Here we were brought to by an armed brig of twenty guns, under Engliſh colours, ſtationed for the purpoſe of examining all boats paſſing up and down the lake: the anſwers which we gave to the ſeveral queſtions aſked being ſatisfactory, we were accordingly ſuffered to proceed. Since the ſurrender of the poſts, purſuant to the late treaty with the United States, this brig has been removed, and laid up at St. John's. When night came on, we wrapped ourſelves up in our blankets, as we had done on the firſt night of our voyage, and laid down upon the cabin floor, where we might poſſibly have ſlept until we got to St. John's, had we not been awakened at midnight by the loud hollas of the ſentinel at the Britiſh fort on Iſle aux Noix. On examining into the matter, it appeared that the boat had been driven on ſhore, while our ſleepy pilot enjoyed his nap at the helm; and the centinel, unable to imagine what we were about, ſeeing the boat run up cloſe under the fort, and ſuſpicious of ſome attack, I ſuppoſe, had turned out the whole guard, by whom, after being examined and re-examined, we were finally diſmiſſed. We now took the command of the boat upon ourſelves, for the boatman, although he was more anxious to get to St. John's than any one of us, and though he had himſelf in ſome meaſure induced us to go on, was ſo ſleepy that he could not keep his eyes open; relieving each other at the helm, we reached St. John's by day-break, one hundred and fifty miles diſtant from Skeneſborough.

Immediately on our landing we were conducted to the guard houſe, where we had to deliver to the ſerjeant on duty, to be by him forwarded to the commanding officer, an account of our names, occupation, and place of abode, the ſtricteſt orders having been iſſued by the governor not to ſuffer any Frenchmen or other foreigners, or any people who could not give an exact account of their buſineſs in Canada, to enter into the country.

St. John's is a garriſon town; it contains about fifty miſerable wooden dwellings, and barracks, in which a whole regiment is generally quartered. The fortifications are entirely out of order, ſo much ſo that it would be cheaper



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cheaper to erect freſh works than to attempt to repair them. There is a king's dock yard here, well ſtored with timber, at leaſt, when we ſaw it; but in the courſe of the ſummer, after the armed brig which I mentioned was laid up, all the timber was ſold off. The old hulks of ſeveral veſſels of force were lying oppoſite the yard. In proportion to the increaſe of trade between New York and Lower Canada this town muſt improve, as it is the Britiſh port of entry on Lake Champlain.

The country about St. John's is flat, and very bare of trees, a dreadful fire in the year 1788 having done great miſchief, and deſtroyed all the woods for ſeveral miles: in ſome parts of the neighbourhood the people ſuffer extremely during winter from the want of fuel.

At St. John's we hired a light waggon, ſimilar to thoſe made uſe of in the United States, and ſet off about noon for La Prarie, on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. By the direct road, this is only eighteen miles diſtant; but the moſt agreeable way of going thither is by Chambly, which is a few miles farther, on account of ſeeing the old caſtle built there by the French. The caſtle ſtands cloſe to the rapids in Chambly or Sorelle River, and at a little diſtance has a grand appearance; the adjacent country alſo being very beautiful, the whole together forms a moſt intereſting ſcene. The caſtle is in tolerably good repair, and a garriſon is conſtantly kept in it.

As you travel along this road to La Prarie, after having juſt arrived from the United States over Lake Champlain, a variety of objects forcibly remind you of your having got into a new country. The Britiſh flag, the ſoldiers on duty, the French inhabitants running about in their red nightcaps, the children coming to the doors to ſalute you as you paſs, a thing unknown in any part of the United States, the compact and neat exterior appearance of the houſes, the calaſhes, the bons dieux, the large Roman Catholic churches and chapels, the convents, the prieſts in their robes, the nuns, the friars, all ſerve to convince you that you are no longer in any part of the United States: the language alſo differs, French being here univerſally ſpoken.

The calaſh is a carriage very generally uſed in Lower Canada; there is ſcarcely a farmer indeed in the country who does not poſſeſs one; it is

is a ſort of one horſe chaiſe, capable of holding two people beſides the driver, who ſits on a kind of box placed over the foot board, expreſsly for his accommodation. The body of the calaſh is hung upon broad ſtraps of leather, round iron rollers that are placed behind, by means of which they are ſhortened or lengthened. On each ſide of the carriage is a little door about two feet high, whereby you enter it, and which is uſeful when ſhut, in preventing any thing from ſlipping out. The harneſs for the horſe is always made in the old French taſte, extremely heavy; it is ſtudded with braſs nails, and to particular parts of it are attached ſmall bells, of no uſe that I could ever diſcover but to annoy the paſſenger.

The bons dieux are large wooden crucifixes, ſometimes upwards of twenty feet in height, placed on the highway; ſome of them are highly ornamented and painted: as the people paſs they pull off their hats, or in ſome other way make obeiſance to them.

La Prarie de la Madelene contains about one hundred houſes: after ſtopping an hour or two there we embarked in a bateau for Montreal.

Montreal is ſituated on an iſland of the ſame name, on the oppoſite ſide of the River St. Lawrence to that on which la Prarie ſtands, but ſomewhat lower down. The two towns are nine miles apart, and the river is about two miles and a quarter wide. The current here is prodigiouſly ſtrong, and in particular places as you croſs, the boats are hurried down the ſtream, in the midſt of large rocks, with ſuch impetuoſity that it ſeems as if nothing could ſave them from being daſhed to pieces; indeed this would certainly be the caſe if the men were not uncommonly expert; but the Canadians are the moſt dexterous people perhaps in the world at the management of bateaux in rapid rivers. After ſuch a proſpect of the River St. Lawrence, it was not without aſtoniſhment that on approaching the town of Montreal we beheld ſhips of upwards of four hundred tons burthen lying cloſe to the ſhore. The difficulties which veſſels have to encounter in getting to Montreal are immenſe; I have myſelf ſeen them with all their ſails ſet, and with a ſmart and favourable breeze, ſtationary for an hour together in the ſtream, unable to ſtem it, between the iſland of St. Helene and the main land, juſt below the

the town: to ſtem the current at this place it is almoſt neceſſary that the veſſel ſhould be aided by a ſtorm. The aſcent is equally difficult in ſeveral other parts of the river. Owing to this it is, that the paſſage from Quebec to Montreal is generally more tedious than that acroſs the Atlantic; thoſe ſhips, therefore, which trade between Europe and Montreal, never attempt to make more than one voyage during the year. Notwithſtanding the rapidity of the ſtream, the channel of the river is very deep, and in particular juſt oppoſite to the town. The largeſt merchant veſſels can there lie ſo cloſe to the banks, which are in their natural ſtate, that you may nearly touch them with your hand as you ſtand on the ſhore.

LETTER XXII.

Deſcription of the Town of Montreal.—Of the public Buildings.—Churches.—Funeral Ceremonies.—Convents.—Barracks.—Fortifications.—Inhabitants moſtly French.—Their Character and Manners.—Charming Proſpects in the Neighbourhood of the Town.—Amuſements during Summer.—Parties of Pleaſure up the Mountain.—Of the Fur Trade.—The Manner in which it is carried on.—Great Enterpriſe of the North Weſt Company of Merchants.—Sketch of Mr. M'Kenzie's Expeditions over Land to the Pacific Ocean.—Differences between the North Weſt and Hudſon's Bay Companies.

Montreal, July.

THE town of Montreal was laid out purſuant to the orders of one of the kings of France, which were, that a town ſhould be built as high up on the St. Lawrence as it were poſſible for veſſels to go by ſea. In fixing upon the ſpot where it ſtands, his commands were complied with in the ſtricteſt ſenſe. The town at preſent contains about twelve hundred houſes, whereof five hundred only are within the walls; the reſt are in the ſuburbs, which commence from the north, eaſt, and weſt

gates. The houſes in the ſuburbs are moſtly built of wood, but the others are all of ſtone; none of them are elegant, but there are many very comfortable habitations. In the lower part of the town, towards the river, where moſt of the ſhops ſtand, they have a very gloomy appearance, and look like ſo many priſons, being all furniſhed at the outſide with ſheet iron ſhutters to the doors and windows, which are regularly cloſed towards evening, in order to guard againſt fire. The town has ſuffered by fire very materially at different times, and the inhabitants have ſuch a dread of it, that all who can afford it cover the roofs of their houſes with tin-plates inſtead of ſhingles. By law they are obliged to have one or more ladders, in proportion to the ſize of the houſe, always ready on the roofs.

The ſtreets are all very narrow; three of them run parallel to the river, and theſe are interſected by others at right angles, but not at regular diſtances. On the ſide of the town fartheſt from the river, and nearly between the northern and ſouthern extremities, there is a ſmall ſquare, called La Place d'Armes, which ſeems originally to have been left open to the walls on one ſide, and to have been intended for the military to exerciſe in; the troops, however, never make uſe of it now, but parade on a long walk, behind the walls, nearer to the barracks. On the oppoſite ſide of the town, towards the water, is another ſmall ſquare, where the market is held.

There are ſix churches in Montreal; one for Engliſh Epiſcopalians, one for Preſbyterians, and four for Roman Catholics. The cathedral church belonging to the latter, which occupies one ſide of La Place d'Armes, is a very ſpacious building, and contains five altars, all very richly decorated. The doors of this cathedral are left open the greater part of the day, and there are, generally, numbers of old people in it at their prayers, even when no regular ſervice is going on. On a fine Sunday in the ſummer ſeaſon ſuch multitudes flock to it, that even the ſteps at the outſide are covered with people, who, unable to get in, remain there kneeling with their hats off during the whole time of divine ſervice. Nearly all the chriſtenings, marriages, and burials of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Montreal are performed in this church, on which

which occaſions, as well as before and during the maſſes, they always ring the bells, to the great annoyance of every perſon that is not a lover of diſcords; for inſtead of pulling the bells, which are five in number, and really well toned, with regularity, they jingle them all at once, without any ſort of cadence whatever. Our lodgings happened to be in La Place d'Armes, and during three weeks that we remained there, I verily believe the bells were never ſuffered to remain ſtill for two hours together, at any one time, except in the night.

The funerals, as in other Roman Catholic countries, are conducted with great ceremony; the corpſe is always attended to the church by a number of prieſts chanting prayers, and by little boys in white robes and black caps carrying wax lights. A morning ſcarcely ever paſſed over that one or more of theſe proceſſions did not paſs under our windows whilſt we were at breakfaſt; for on the oppoſite ſide of the ſquare to that on which the cathedral ſtood, was a ſort of chapel, to which the bodies of all thoſe perſons, whoſe friends could not afford to pay for an expenſive funeral, were brought, I ſuppoſe, in the night, for we could never ſee any carried in there, and from thence conveyed in the morning to the cathedral. If the prieſts are paid for it they go to the houſe of the deceaſed, though it be ever ſo far diſtant, and eſcort the corpſe to the church. Until within a few years paſt it was cuſtomary to bury all the bodies in the vaults underneath the cathedral; but now it is prohibited, leſt ſome putrid diſorder ſhould break out in the town in conſequence of ſuch numbers being depoſited there. The burying grounds are all without the walls at preſent.

There are in Montreal four convents, one of which is of the order of St. Francis; the number of the friars, however, is reduced now to two or three, and as by the laws of the province men can no longer enter into any religious order, it will of courſe in a few years dwindle entirely away. On the female orders there is no reſtriction, and they are ſtill well filled. The Hotel Dieu, founded as early as 1644, for the relief of the ſick poor, and which is the oldeſt of the convents, contains thirty "religieuſes"—nuns; La Congregation de Notre Dame, inſtituted for the inſtruction of young girls, contains fifty-ſeven ſœurs,

another ſort of nuns; and L'Hoſpital Generale, for the accommodation of the infirm poor, contains eighteen ſœurs.

The barracks are agreeably ſituated near the river, at the lower end of the town; they are ſurrounded by a lofty wall, and calculated to contain about three hundred men.

The walls round the town are mouldering away very faſt, and in ſome places are totally in ruins; the gates, however, remain quite perfect. The walls were built principally as a defence againſt the Indians, by whom the country was thickly inhabited when Montreal was founded, and they were found neceſſary, to repel the open attacks of theſe people as late as the year 1736. When the large fairs uſed to be held in Montreal, to which the Indians from all parts reſorted with their furs, they were alſo found extremely uſeful, as the inhabitants were thereby enabled to ſhut out the Indians at night, who, had they been ſuffered to remain in the town, addicted as they are to drinking, might have been tempted to commit great outrages, and would have kept the inhabitants in a continual ſtate of alarm. In their beſt ſtate the walls could not have protected the town againſt cannon, not even againſt a ſix pounder; nor, indeed, would the ſtrongeſt walls be of any uſe in defending it againſt artillery, as it is completely commanded by the eminences in the iſland of St. Helene*, in the River St. Lawrence. Montreal has always been an eaſy conqueſt to regular troops.

By far the greater number of the inhabitants of Montreal are of French extraction; all the eminent merchants, however, and principal people in the town, are either Engliſh, Scotch, Iriſh, or their deſcendants, all of whom paſs for Engliſh with the French inhabitants. The French retain, in a great meaſure, the manners and cuſtoms of their anceſtors, as well as the language; they have an unconquerable averſion to learn Engliſh, and it is very rare to meet with any perſon amongſt them that can ſpeak it in any manner; but the Engliſh inhabitants are, for the moſt part, well acquainted with the French language.

* This iſland was the laſt place which the French ſurrendered to the Britiſh.

The

The people of Montreal, in general, are remarkably hoſpitable and attentive to ſtrangers; they are ſociable alſo amongſt themſelves, and fond in the extreme of convivial amuſements. In winter, they keep up ſuch a conſtant and friendly intercourſe with each other, that it ſeems then as if the town were inhabited but by one large family. During ſummer they live ſomewhat more retired; but throughout that ſeaſon a club, formed of all the principal inhabitants, both male and female, meet every week or fortnight, for the purpoſe of dining at ſome agreeable ſpot in the neighbourhood of the town.

The iſland of Montreal is about twenty-eight miles in length and ten in breadth; it is the largeſt of ſeveral iſlands which are ſituated in the St. Lawrence, at the mouth of the Utawa River. Its ſoil is luxuriant, and in ſome parts much cultivated and thickly inhabited. It is agreeably diverſified with hill and dale, and towards its center, in the neighbourhood of Montreal, there are two or three conſiderable mountains. The largeſt of theſe ſtands at the diſtance of about one mile from the town, which is named from it. The baſe of this mountain is ſurrounded with neat country houſes and gardens, and partial improvements have been made about one third of the way up; the remainder is entirely covered with lofty trees. On that ſide towards the river is a large old monaſtery, with extenſive incloſures walled in, round which the ground has been cleared for ſome diſtance. This open part is covered with a rich verdure, and the woods encircling it, inſtead of being overrun with bruſhwood, are quite clear at bottom, ſo that you may here roam about at pleaſure for miles together, ſhaded, by the lofty trees, from the rays of the ſun.

The view from hence is grand beyond deſcription. A prodigious expanſe of country is laid open to the eye, with the noble river St. Lawrence winding through it, which may be traced from the remoteſt part of the horizon. The river comes from the right, and flows ſmoothly on after paſſing down the tremendous rapids above the town, where it is hurried over huge rocks with a noiſe that is heard even up the mountain. On the left below you appears the town of Montreal, with its churches, monaſteries, glittering ſpires, and the ſhipping under its old

walls; ſeveral little iſlands in the river near the town, partly improved, partly overgrown with wood, add greatly to the beauty of the ſcene. La Prarie with its large church on the diſtant ſide of the river, is ſeen to the greateſt advantage, and beyond it is a range of lofty mountains which terminates the proſpect. Such an endleſs variety and ſuch a grandeur is there in the view from this part of the mountain, that even thoſe who are moſt habituated to the view always find it a freſh ſubject of admiration whenever they contemplate it; and on this part of the mountain it is that the club which I mentioned generally aſſembles. Two ſtewards are appointed for the day, who always chuſe ſome new ſpot where there is a ſpring or rill of water, and an agreeable ſhade: each family brings cold proviſions, wine, &c.; the whole is put together, and the company, often amounting to one hundred perſons, ſits down to dinner.

The fur trade is what is chiefly carried on at Montreal, and it is there that the greater part of the furs are ſhipped, which are ſent from Canada to England.

This very lucrative trade is carried on, partly by what is called the North Weſt Company, and partly by private individuals on their own account. The company does not poſſeſs any particular privileges by law, but from its great capital merely it is enabled to trade to certain remote parts of the continent, to the excluſion of thoſe who do not hold any ſhares in it. It was formed originally by the merchants of Montreal themſelves, who wiſely conſidered that the trade could be carried on to thoſe diſtant parts of the continent, inhabited ſolely by Indians, with more ſecurity and greater profit, if they joined together in a body, than if they continued to trade ſeparately. The ſtock of the company was divided into forty ſhares, and as the number of merchants in the town at that time was not very great, this arrangement afforded an opportunity to every one of them to join in the company if he thought proper. At preſent theſe ſhares have all fallen into the hands of a few perſons.

The company principally carries on its trade by means of the Utawas or Grand River, that falls into the St. Lawrence about thirty miles above Montreal, and which forms, by its confluence with that river, "Le "Lac de Deux Montagnes et le Lac St. Louis,"—the lake of the Two Mountains

Mountains and the Lake of St. Louis, wherein are ſeveral large iſlands. To convey the furs downs this river, they make uſe of canoes, formed of the bark of the birch tree, ſome of which are upon ſuch a large ſcale that they are capable of containing two tons, but they ſeldom put ſo much in them, eſpecially on this river, it being in many places ſhallow, rapid, and full of rocks, and contains no leſs than thirty-two portages.

The canoes are navigated by the French Canadians, who are particularly fond of the employment, preferring it in general to that of cultivating the ground. A fleet of them ſets off from Montreal about the month of May, laden with proviſions, conſiſting chiefly of biſcuit and ſalt pork, ſufficient to laſt the crews till their return, and alſo with the articles given in barter to the Indians. At ſome of the ſhallow places in the river, it is ſufficient if the men merely get out of the canoes, and puſh them on into the deep water; but at others, where there are dangerous rapids and ſharp rocks, it is neceſſary for the men to unlade the canoes, and carry both them and the cargoes on their ſhoulders, till they come again to a ſafe part of the river. At night they drag the canoes upon ſhore, light a fire, cook their proviſions for the following day, and ſleep upon the ground wrapped up in their blankets. If it happens to rain very hard, they ſometimes ſhelter themſelves with boughs of trees, but in general they remain under the canopy of heaven, without any covering but their blankets: they copy exactly the Indian mode of life on theſe occaſions, and many of them even wear the Indian dreſſes, which they find more convenient than their own.

Having aſcended the Utawas River for about two hundred and eighty miles, which it takes them about eighteen days to perform, they then croſs by a portage into Lake Niſpiſſing, and from this lake by another portage they get upon French River, that falls into Lake Huron on the north-eaſt ſide; then coaſting along this laſt lake they paſs through the Straits of St. Mary, where there is another portage into Lake Superior; and coaſting afterwards along the ſhores of Lake Superior, they come to the Grand Portage on the north-weſt ſide of it; from hence by a chain of ſmall lakes and rivers they proceed on to the Rainy Lake,

to

to the Lake of the Woods, and for hundreds of miles beyond it, through Lake Winnipeg, &c.

The canoes, however, which go so far up the country, never return the same year; those intended to bring back cargoes immediately, stop at the Grand Portage, where the furs are collected ready for them by the agents of the company. The furs are made up in packs of a certain weight, and a particular number is put into each canoe. By knowing thus the exact weight of every pack, there can be no embezzlement; and at the portages there is no time wasted in allotting to each man his load, every one being obliged to carry so many packs.

At the Grand Portage, and along that immense chain of lakes and rivers, which extend beyond Lake Superior, the company has regular posts, where the agents reside; and with such astonishing enterprize and industry have the affairs of this company been carried on, that trading posts are now established within five hundred miles of the Pacific Ocean. One gentleman, indeed, a partner in the house at Montreal, which now holds the greatest part of the shares of the company, has even penetrated to the Pacific Ocean itself. The journal kept by this gentleman upon the expedition is, it is said, replete with information of the most interesting nature. That it has not been laid before the public long ago, together with an accurate map of his track, is to be imputed solely to an unfortunate misunderstanding which took place between him and a noble lord high in the confidence of government.

In the first attempt which this adventurous gentleman, a Mr. M'Kenzie, made to penetrate to the ocean, he set out early in the spring from the remotest of the posts belonging to the company. He took with him a single canoe, and a party of chosen men; and after passing over prodigious tracts of land, never before traversed by any white person, at last came to a large river. Here the canoe, which was carried by the men on their shoulders, was launched, and having all embarked, they proceeded down the stream. From the course this river took for a very great distance, Mr. M'Kenzie was led to imagine that it was one of those rivers he was in quest of; namely, one which

which emptied itſelf into the Pacific Ocean; but at the end of ſeveral weeks, during which they had worked their way downward with great eagerneſs, he was convinced, from the gradual inclination of the river towards another quarter, that he muſt have been miſtaken; and that it was one of thoſe immenſe rivers, ſo numerous on the continent of North America, that ran into Baffin's Bay, or the Arctic Ocean.

The party was now in a very critical ſituation; the ſeaſon was far advanced, and the length of way which they had to return was prodigious. If they attempted to go back, and were overtaken by winter, they muſt in all probability periſh for want of proviſions in an uninhabited country; if, on the contrary, they made up their minds to ſpend the winter where they were, they had no time to loſe in building huts, and going out to hunt and fiſh, that they might have ſufficient ſtores to ſupport them through that dreary ſeaſon. Mr. M'Kenzie repreſented the matter, in the moſt open terms, to his men, and left it to themſelves to determine the part they would take. The men were for going back at all hazards; and the reſult was, that they reached their friends in ſafety. The difficulties they had to contend with, and the exertions they made in returning, were almoſt ſurpaſſing belief.

The ſecond expedition entered upon by Mr. M'Kenzie, and which ſucceeded to his wiſhes, was undertaken about three years ago. He ſet out in the ſame manner, but well provided with ſeveral different things, which he found the want of in the firſt expedition. He was extremely well furniſhed this time with aſtronomical inſtruments, and in particular with a good time-piece, that he procured from London. He took a courſe ſomewhat different from the firſt, and paſſed through many nations of Indians who had never before ſeen the face of a white man, amongſt ſome of whom he was for a time in imminent danger; but he found means at laſt to conciliate their good will. From ſome of theſe Indians he learned, that there was a ridge of mountains at a little diſtance, beyond which the rivers all ran in a weſtern direction. Having engaged ſome of them therefore for guides, he proceeded according to their directions until he came to the mountains, and after aſcending them with prodigious labour, found, to his great ſatisfaction, that the

account the Indians had given was true, and that the rivers on the oppoſite ſide did indeed all run to the weſt. He followed the courſe of one of them, and finally came to the Pacific Ocean, not far from Nootka Sound.

Here he was given to underſtand by the natives, and their account was confirmed by the ſight of ſome little articles they had amongſt them, that an Engliſh veſſel had quitted the coaſt only ſix weeks before. This was a great mortification to Mr. M'Kenzie; for had there been a ſhip on the coaſt, he would moſt gladly have embarked in it rather than encounter the ſame difficulties, and be expoſed to the ſame perils, which he had experienced in getting there; however there was no alternative; he ſet out after a ſhort time on his journey back again, and having found his canoe quite ſafe under ſome buſhes, near the head of the river, where he had hid it, together with ſome proviſions, left on going down to the coaſt the natives might have proved unfriendly, and have cut off his retreat by ſeizing upon it, he finally arrived at one of the trading poſts in ſecurity. When I was at Montreal Mr. M'Kenzie was not there, and I never had an opportunity of ſeeing him afterwards. What I have here related reſpecting his two expeditions is the ſubſtance, to the beſt of my recollection, of what I heard from his partners.

Many other individuals belonging to the North Weſt Company, before Mr. M'Kenzie ſet out, penetrated far into the country in different directions, and much beyond what any perſon had done before them, in order to eſtabliſh poſts. In ſome of theſe excurſions they fell in with the agents of the Hudſon Bay Company, who were alſo extending their poſts from another quarter; this unexpected meeting between the two companies, at one time gave riſe to ſome very unpleaſant altercations, and the Hudſon Bay Company threatened the other with an immediate proſecution for an infringement of its charter.

By its charter, it ſeems, the Hudſon Bay Company was allowed the excluſive privilege of trading to the Bay, and along all the rivers and waters connected with it. This charter, however, was granted at a time when the northern parts of the continent were much leſs known than they are now, for to have the excluſive trade along all the waters connected

nected with Hudſon Bay was, literally ſpeaking, to have the excluſive trade of the greater part of the continent of North America. Hudſon Bay, by a variety of rivers and lakes, is cloſely connected with Lake Superior, and from that chain of lakes, of which Lake Superior is one, there is a water communication throughout all Canada, and a very great part of the United States; however, when the agents of the North-weſt Company were fixing trading poſts upon ſome rivers which ran immediately into Hudſon's Bay, it undoubtedly appeared to be an infringement of the charter, and ſo indeed it muſt ſtrictly have been, had not the Hudſon's Bay Company itſelf infringed its own charter in the firſt inſtance, or at leaſt neglected to comply with all the ſtipulations contained therein. A clauſe ſeems to have been in the charter, which, at the ſame time that it granted to the company the excluſive privilege of trading to Hudſon's Bay, and along all the waters connected with it, bound it to erect a new poſt twelve miles farther to the weſtward every year, otherwiſe the charter was to become void. This had not been done; the North-weſt Company therefore reſted perfectly eaſy about the menaces of a proſecution, ſatisfied that the other company did not in fact legally poſſeſs thoſe privileges to which it laid claim.

The Hudſon's Bay Company, though it threatened, never indeed attempted to put its threats into execution, well knowing the weakneſs of its cauſe, but continued nevertheleſs to watch the motions of its rival with a moſt jealous eye; and as in extending their reſpective trades, the poſts of the two companies were approximating nearer and nearer to each other every year, there was great reaſon to imagine that their differences, inſtead of abating, would become ſtill greater than they were, and finally, perhaps, lead to conſequences of the moſt ſerious nature. A circumſtance, however, unexpectedly took place, at a time when the greateſt enmity ſubſiſted between the parties, which happily reconciled them to each other, and terminated all their diſputes.

A very powerful nation of Indians, called the Aſſiniboins, who inhabit an extended tract of country to the ſouth-weſt of Lake Winnipeg, conceiving that the Hudſon's Bay Company had encroached unreaſonably upon their territories, and had otherwiſe maltreated a part of their tribe, formed

the reſolution of inſtantly deſtroying a poſt eſtabliſhed by that company in their neighbourhood. A large body of them ſoon collected together, and breathing the fierceſt ſpirit of revenge, marched unperceived and unſuſpected by the party againſt whom their expedition was planned, till within a ſhort diſtance of their poſt. Here they halted according to cuſtom, waiting only for a favourable moment to pounce upon their prey. Some of the agents of the North-weſt Company, however, who were ſcattered about this part of the country, fortunately got intelligence of their deſign. They knew the weakneſs of the place about to be attacked, and forgetting the rivalſhip ſubſiſting between them, and thinking only how to ſave their countrymen, they immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to give the party notice of the aſſault that was meditated; they at the ſame time ſent another meſſenger to one of their own poſts, deſiring that inſtant ſuccour might be ſent to that belonging to the Hudſon Bay Company, which the Indians were about to plunder. The detachment arrived before the attack commenced, and the Indians were repulſed; but had it not been for the timely aſſiſtance their rivals had afforded, the Hudſon Bay people were fully perſuaded that they muſt have fallen victims to the fury of the Indians.

This ſignal piece of ſervice was not undervalued or forgotten by thoſe who had been ſaved; and as the North-weſt Company was ſo much ſtronger, and on ſo much better terms with the Indians in this part of the country than its rivals, it now evidently appeared to be the intereſt of the latter to have the poſts of the North-weſt Company eſtabliſhed as near its own as poſſible. This is accordingly done for their mutual ſafety, and the two companies are now on the moſt friendly terms, and continue to carry on their trade cloſe to each other.

About two thouſand men are employed by the North-weſt Company in their poſts in the upper country. Thoſe who are ſtationed at the remote trading poſts lead a very ſavage life, but little better indeed than that of Indians: ſome of them remain far up in the country for four or five years together. The head clerk or principal agent generally marries an Indian girl, the daughter of ſome eminent chief, by which he gains in a peculiar manner the affections of the whole tribe, a matter of great im-

portance. Theſe marriages, as may be ſuppoſed, are not conſidered as very binding by the huſband; but that is nothing in the opinion of an Indian chief, who readily brings his ſiſter or daughter to you; at the ſame time he can only be appeaſed by blood if a perſon attempts to take any improper liberties with his wife. Amongſt no people are the wives more chaſte, or more devoted to their huſbands.

Beſides the furs and pelts, thus conveyed down to Montreal from the north-weſtern parts of the continent, by means of the Utawas River, there are large quantities alſo brought there acroſs the lakes, and down the River St. Lawrence. Theſe are collected at the various towns and poſts along the Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, where the trade is open to all parties, the ſeveral poſts being protected by regular troops, at the expence of the government. Added likewiſe to what are thus collected by the agents of the company, and of private merchants, there are conſiderable quantities brought down to Montreal for ſale by traders, on their own account. Some of theſe traders come from parts as remote as the Illinois Country, bordering on the Miſſiſſippi. They aſcend the Miſſiſſippi as far as Oniſconſing River, and from that by a portage of three miles get upon Fox River, which falls into Lake Michigan. In the fall of the year, as I have before mentioned, theſe two rivers overflow, and it is then ſometimes practicable to paſs in a light canoe from one river to the other, without any portage whatſoever. From Lake Michigan they get upon Lake Huron, afterwards upon Lake Erie, and ſo on to the St. Lawrence. Before the month of September is over, the furs are all brought down to Montreal; as they arrive they are immediately ſhipped, and the veſſels diſpatched in October, beyond which month it would be dangerous for them to remain in the river on account of the ſetting in of winter.

Furs are alſo ſhipped in conſiderable quantities at Quebec, and at the town of Trois Rivieres. Theſe furs are brought down the rivers that fall into the St. Lawrence, on the north ſide, by Indians.

LETTER XXIII.

Voyage to Quebec down the St. Lawrence.—A Bateau preferable to a Keel Boat.—Town of Sorelle.—Ship-building there.—Deſcription of Lake St. Pierre.—Baliſcon.—Charming Scenery along the Banks of St. Lawrence.—In what reſpects it differs from the Scenery along any other River in America.—Canadian Houſes.—Sketch of the Character and manners of the lower Claſſes of Canadians.—Their Superſtition.—Anecdote.—St. Auguſtin Calvaire.—Arrive at Quebec.

Quebec, Auguſt.

WE remained in Montreal until the firſt day of Auguſt, when we ſet off in a bateau for Quebec, about one hundred and ſixty miles lower down the St. Lawrence. A bateau is a particular kind of boat, very generally uſed upon the large rivers and lakes in Canada. The bottom of it is perfectly flat, and each end is built very ſharp, and exactly alike. The ſides are about four feet high, and for the convenience of the rowers, four or five benches are laid acroſs, ſometimes more, according to the length of the bateau. It is a very heavy awkward ſort of veſſel, either for rowing or ſailing, but it is preferred to a boat with a keel for two very obvious reaſons; firſt, becauſe it draws leſs water, at the ſame time that it carries a larger burthen; and ſecondly, becauſe it is much ſafer on lakes or wide rivers, where ſtorms are frequent: a proof of this came under our obſervation the day of our leaving Montreal. We had reached a wide part of the river, and were ſailing along with a favourable wind, when ſuddenly the horizon grew very dark, and a dreadful ſtorm aroſe, accompanied with loud peals of thunder and torrents of rain. Before the ſail could be taken in, the ropes which held it were ſnapped in pieces, and the waves began to daſh over the ſides of the bateau, though the water had been quite ſmooth five minutes before. It was impoſſible now to counteract the force of the wind with oars, and the bateau was conſequently driven on ſhore, but the bottom of it being quite flat, it was carried ſmoothly upon the beach without ſuſtaining any injury,

injury, and the men leaping out drew it up on dry land, where we remained out of all danger till the ſtorm was over. A keel boat, however, of the ſame ſize, could not have approached nearer to the ſhore than thirty feet, and there it would have ſtuck faſt in the ſand, and probably have been filled with water. From being fitted up as it was, our bateau proved to be a very pleaſant conveyance: it was one of a large ſize, and over the wideſt part of it an oilcloth awning was thrown, ſupported by hoops ſimilar to the roof of a waggon: thus a moſt excellent cabin was formed, large enough to contain half a dozen chairs and a table, and which, at the ſame that it afforded ſhelter from the inclemency of the weather, was airy, and ſufficiently open to let us ſee all the beauties of the proſpect on each ſhore to the greateſt advantage.

It was about eleven o'clock in the morning when we left Montreal, and at five in the afternoon we reached the town of Sorelle, fifteen leagues diſtant. The current is very ſtrong the whole way between the two places. Sorelle ſtands at the mouth of the river of the ſame name, which runs from Lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence. It was laid out about the year 1787, and on an extenſive plan, with very wide ſtreets and a large ſquare, but at preſent it contains only one hundred houſes, are all very indifferent, and ſtanding widely aſunder. This is the only town on the St. Lawrence, between Montreal and Quebec, wherein Engliſh is the predominant language. The inhabitants conſiſt principally of loyaliſts from the United States, who took refuge in Canada. The chief buſineſs carried on here is that of ſhip-building; there are ſeveral veſſels annually launched from fifty to two hundred tons burthen; theſe are floated down to Quebec, and there rigged. Ship-building is not carried on to ſo much advantage in Canada as might be imagined, all the bolts and other articles of iron, the blocks, and the cordage, being imported; ſo that what is gained by having excellent timber on the ſpot is loſt in bringing over theſe different articles, which are ſo bulky, from Europe. The river of Sorelle is deep at the mouth, and affords good ſhelter for ſhips from the ice, at the breaking up of winter: it is not navigable far beyond the town, even in boats, on account of the rapids.

The

The next morning we left Sorelle, beyond which place the St. Lawrence expands to a great breadth. Here it abounds with ſmall iſlands, ſituated ſo cloſely to each other, that it is impoſſible to think without aſtoniſhment of large veſſels, like thoſe that go to Montreal, paſſing between them: the channel through them is very intricate. This wide part of the river is called Lac St. Pierre; the greateſt breadth of it is about four leagues and a half, and its length from the iſlands at the head of the lake downwards about eight leagues. From hence to Quebec the river is in no place more than two miles acroſs, and in ſome parts it narrows to the breadth of three quarters of a mile. The tide ebbs and flows in the river within a few leagues of Lac St. Pierre; the great expanſion of the water at the lake, and the ſtrong current which ſets out from it, prevents its action higher up.

From Montreal as far as the town of Trois Rivieres, which ſtands about four leagues below Lac St. Pierre, the ſhores on each ſide of the St. Lawrence are very flat; the land then begins to riſe, and on the ſouth-eaſt ſide it continues lofty the whole way down to Quebec. On the oppoſite ſide, however, below Trois Rivieres, the banks vary conſiderably; in ſome places they are high, in others very low, until you approach within a few leagues of Quebec, when they aſſume a bold and grand appearance on each ſide. The ſcenery along various parts of the river is very fine: it is impoſſible, indeed, but that there muſt be a variety of pleaſing views along a noble river like the St. Lawrence, winding for hundreds of miles through a rich country, diverſified with riſing grounds, woodlands, and cultivated plains. What particularly attracts the attention, however, in going down this river, is, the beautiful diſpoſition of the towns and villages on its banks. Nearly all the ſettlements in Lower Canada are ſituated cloſe upon the borders of the rivers, and from this circumſtance the ſcenery along the St. Lawrence and others differs materially from that along the rivers in the United States. The banks of the Hudſon river, which are more cultivated than thoſe of any of the other large rivers there, are wild and deſolate in compariſon with thoſe of the St. Lawrence. For ſeveral leagues below Montreal the houſes ſtand ſo cloſely together, that it appears as if it were but one village,

village, which extended the whole way. All the houſes have a remarkably neat appearance at a diſtance, and in each village, though it be ever ſo ſmall, there is a church. The churches are kept in the neateſt repair, and moſt of them have ſpires, covered, according to the cuſtom of the country, with tin, that, from being put on in a particular manner, never becomes ruſty *. It is pleaſing beyond deſcription to behold one of theſe villages opening to the view, as you ſail round a point of land covered with trees, the houſes in it overhanging the river, and the ſpires of the churches ſparkling through the groves with which they are encircled, before the rays of the ſetting ſun.

There is ſcarcely any part of the river, where you paſs along, for more than a league, without ſeeing a village and church.

The ſecond night of our voyage we landed at the village of Batiſcon. It ſtands on the north-weſt ſide of the river, about eighty miles below Montreal. Here the ſhore is very flat and marſhy, and for a conſiderable diſtance from it the water is ſo ſhallow when the tide is out, that a bateau even, cannot at that time come within one hundred yards of the dry ground. Lower down the river the ſhore is in ſome places extremely rocky.

The firſt habitation we came to at Batiſcon was a farm houſe, where we readily got accommodation for the night. The people were extremely civil, and did all in their power to ſerve us. A ſmall table was quickly ſet out, covered with a neat white tablecloth, and bread, milk, eggs, and butter, the beſt fare which the houſe afforded, were brought to us. Theſe things may always be had in abundance at every farm houſe; but it is not often that you can procure meat of any ſort; in going through Canada, therefore it is cuſtomary for travellers to carry a proviſion baſket with them. The houſes in Lower Canada are in general well furniſhed with beds, all in the French ſtyle, very large, and raiſed four or five feet high, with a paillaſſe, a mattraſs, and a feather bed.

* The ſquare plates of tin are nailed on diagonally, and the corners are carefully folded over the heads of the nails, ſo as to prevent any moiſture from getting to them.

The houſes for the moſt part are built of logs; but they are much more compact and better built than thoſe in the United States; the logs are made to fit more cloſely together, and inſtead of being left rough and uneven on the outſide, are planed and whitewaſhed. At the inſide alſo the walls are generally lined with deal boards, whereas in the United States the common log-houſes are left as rough within as they are without. One circumſtance, however, renders the Canadian houſes very diſagreeable, and that is the inattention of the inhabitants to air them occaſionally by opening the windows, in conſequence of which they have a cloſe heavy ſmell within doors. As we travelled by land from Quebec to Montreal, we ſcarcely obſerved ten houſes the whole way with the windows open, notwithſtanding that the weather was very warm. If you aſk the people why they don't let a little freſh air into their houſes, their conſtant anſwer is, as it is to all queſtions of a ſimilar tendency, "Ce n'eſt pas la maniere des habitans"—It is not the cuſtom of the people of the country.

Some of the lower claſſes of the French Canadians have all the gaiety and vivacity of the people of France; they dance, they ſing, and ſeem determined not to give way to care; others, to appearance, have a great deal of that ſullenneſs and bluntneſs in their manners characteriſtic of the people of the United States; vanity, however, is the aſcendant feature in the character of all of them, and by working upon that you may make them do what you pleaſe. Few of the men can read or write; the little learning there is amongſt the inhabitants is confined to the women: a Canadian never makes a bargain, or takes any ſtep of importance, without conſulting his wife, whoſe opinion is generally abided by. Both men and women are ſunk in ignorance and ſuperſtition, and blindly devoted to their prieſts. The following anecdote may ſerve to ſhew how much they are ſo.

On the evening before we reached Quebec, we ſtopped at the village of St. Auguſtin Calvaire, and after having ſtrolled about for ſome time, returned to the farm-houſe where we had taken up our quarters for the night. The people had cooked ſome fiſh, that had been juſt caught, while we had been walking about, and every thing being ready on our return,

return, we sat down to supper by the light of a lamp, which was suspended from the ceiling. The glimmering light, however, that it afforded, scarcely enabled us to see what was on the table; we complained of it to the man of the house, and the lamp was in consequence trimmed; it was replenished with oil; taken down and set on the table; still the light was very bad. "Sacre Dieu!" exclaimed he, "but "you shall not eat your fish in the dark;" so saying, he stepped aside to a small cupboard, took out a candle, and having lighted it, placed it beside us. All was now going on well, when the wife, who had been absent for a few minutes, suddenly returning, poured forth a volley of the most terrible execrations against her poor husband for having presumed to have acted as he had done. Unable to answer a single word, the fellow stood aghast, ignorant of what he had done to offend her; we were quite at a loss also to know what could have given rise to such a sudden storm; the wife, however, snatching up the candle, and hastily extinguishing it, addressed us in a plaintive tone of voice, and explained the whole affair. It was the holy candle—"La chandelle benite," which her giddy husband had set on the table; it had been consecrated at a neighbouring church, and supposing there should be a tempest at any time, with thunder and lightning ever so terrible, yet if the candle were but kept burning while it lasted, the house, the barn, and every thing else belonging to it, were to be secured from all danger. If any of the family happened to be sick, the candle was to be lighted, and they were instantly to recover. It had been given to her that morning by the priest of the village, with an assurance that it possessed the miraculous power of preserving the family from harm, and she was confident that what he told her was true. To have contradicted the poor woman would have been useless; for the sake of our ears, however, we endeavoured to pacify her, and that being accomplished, we sat down to supper, and e'en made the most of our fish in the dark.

The village of St. Augustin Calvaire is about five leagues from Quebec, at which last place we arrived early on the next morning, the fourth of our voyage. When the wind is fair, and the tide favourable also, it does not take more than two days to go from Montreal to Quebec.

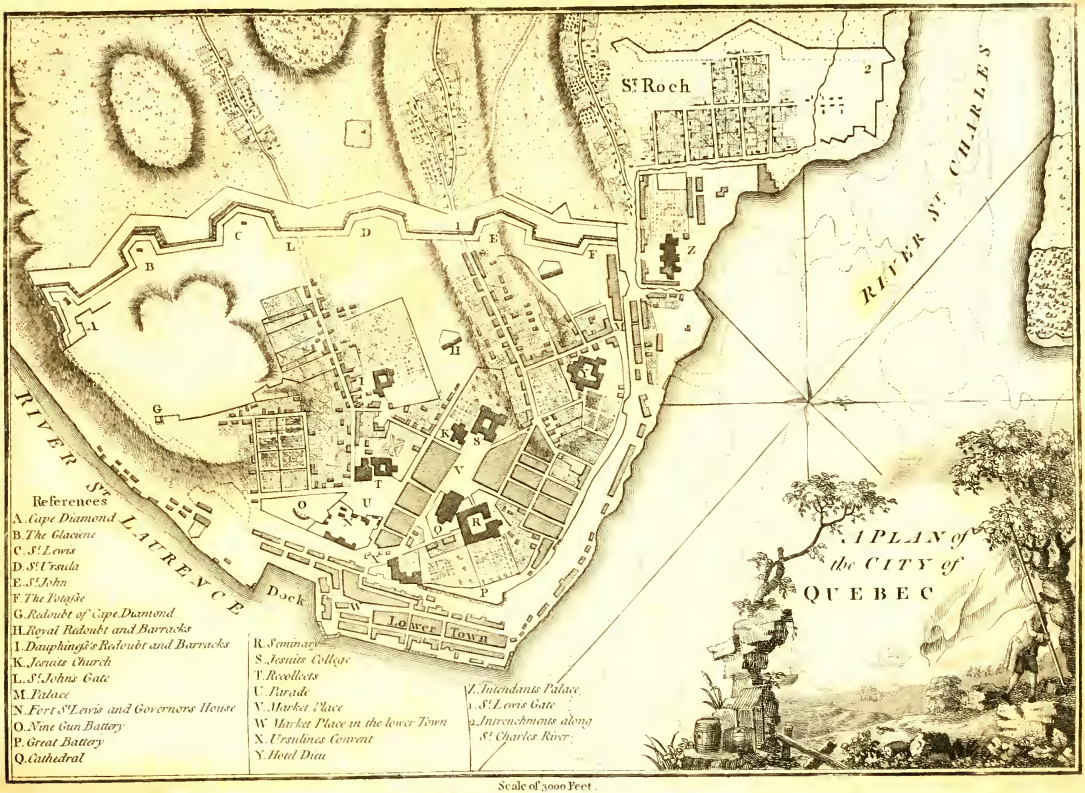
LETTER XXIV.

Situation of the City of Quebec.—Divided into Upper and Lower Town.—Deſcription of each.—Great Strength of the Upper Town.—Some Obſervations on the Capture of Quebec by the Engliſh Army under General Wolfe.—Obſervations on Montgomery's and Arnold's Attack during the American War.—Cenſus of Inhabitants of Quebec.—The Chateau.—The Reſidence of the Governor.—Monaſtery of the Recollects.—College of the Jeſuits.—One Jeſuit remaining of great Age.—His great Wealth.—His Character.—Nunneries.—Engineer's Drawing Room.—State Houſe.—Armoury.—Barracks.—Market-place.—Dogs uſed in Carts.—Grandeur of the Proſpects from Parts of the Upper Town.—Charming Scenery of the Environs.—Deſcription of Montmorenci Water Fall.—Of La Chaudiere Water Fall.

Quebec, Auguſt.

THE city of Quebec is ſituated on a very lofty point of land, on the north-weſt ſide of the River St. Lawrence. Nearly facing it, on the oppoſite ſhore, there is another point, and between the two the river is contracted to the breadth of three quarters of a mile, but after paſſing through this ſtrait it expands to the breadth of five or ſix miles, taking a great ſweep behind that point whereon Quebec ſtands. The city derives its name from the word Quebec or Quebeio, which ſignifies in the Algonquin tongue, a ſudden contraction of a river. The wide part of the river, immediately before the town, is called The Baſon, and it is ſufficiently deep and ſpacious to float upwards of one hundred ſail of the line.

Quebec is divided into two parts; the upper town, ſituated on a rock of limeſtone, on the top of the point; and the lower town, built round the bottom of the point, cloſe to the water. The rock whereon the upper town ſtands, in ſome places towards the water riſes nearly perpendicularly, ſo as to be totally inacceſſible; in other places it is not ſo ſteep but that there is a communication between the two towns,


St Roch
RIVER St CHARLES
RIVER St LAURENCE
Dock
Lower Town
A PLAN of the CITY of QUEBEC
References
A. Cape Diamond
B. The Glacieve
C. St Lewis
D. St Ursula
E. St John
F. The Potasse
G. Redoubt of Cape Diamond
H. Royal Redoubt and Barracks
I. Dauphine's Redoubt and Barracks
K. Jesuits Church
L. St Johns Gate
M. Palace
N. Fort St Lewis and Governors House
O. Nine Gun Battery
P. Great Battery
Q. Cathedral
R. Seminary
S. Jesuits College
T. Recollets
U. Parade
V. Market Place
W. Market Place in the lower Town
X. Ursulines Convent
Y. Hotel Dieu
Z. Intendants Palace
1. St Lewis Gate
2. Intrenchments along St Charles River
Scale of 3000 Feet
500 1000 2000 3000

towns, by means of ſtreets winding up the ſide of it, though even here the aſcent is ſo great, that there are long flights of ſtairs at one ſide of the ſtreets for the accommodation of foot paſſengers.

The lower town lies very much expoſed to an enemy, being defended merely by a ſmall battery towards the baſon, which at the time of high tides is nearly on a level with the water, and by barriers towards the river, in which guns may be planted when there is any danger of an attack.

The upper town, however, is a place of immenſe ſtrength. Towards the water it is ſo ſtrongly guarded by nature, that it is found unneceſſary to have more than very ſlight walls; and in ſome particular places, where the rock is inacceſſible, are no walls at all. There are ſeveral redoubts and batteries however here. The principal battery, which points towards the baſon, conſiſts of twenty-two twenty-four pounders, two French thirty-ſix pounders, and two large iron mortars; this battery is flanked by another of ſix guns, that commands the paſſes from the lower town.

On the land ſide, the town owes its ſtrength ſolely to the hand of art, and here the fortifications are ſtupendous. Conſiderable additions and improvements have been made to them ſince the place has been in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain; but even at the time when it belonged to France, the works were ſo ſtrong, that had it not been for the conduct of M. de Montcalm, the French general, it is almoſt doubtful whether the genius of the immortal Wolfe himſelf would not have been baffled in attempting to reduce it.

Had M. de Montcalm, when the firſt intelligence of the Britiſh army's having aſcended the Heights of Abraham was carried to him, inſtead of diſbelieving the account, and laughing at it as a thing impoſſible, marched immediately to the attack, without giving General Wolfe time to form his men; or had he, when the account was confirmed of the enemy's procedure, and of their having formed on the plain, waited for a large diviſion of his troops, whoſe ſtation was below the town, and who might have joined him in two hours, inſtead of marching out to give General Wolfe battle with the troops he had with him at the time, the

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fate of the day might have turned out very differently; or had he, inſtead of hazarding a battle at all, retired within the walls of the city and defended it, the place was ſo ſtrong that there is reaſon to think it might have held out until the approach of winter, when the Britiſh ſhips muſt have quitted the river, and General Wolfe would conſequently have been under the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege.

General Wolfe thought it a vain attempt to make an aſſault on the ſide of the town which lies towards the water, where the rock is ſo ſteep, and ſo eaſily defended; his object was to get behind it, and to carry on the attack on the land ſide, where there is an extenſive plain adjoining the town, and not a great deal lower than the higheſt part of the point. In order to do ſo, he firſt of all attempted to land his troops ſome miles below the town, near the Falls of Montmorenci. Here the banks of the river are by no means ſo difficult of aſcent as above the town; but they were defended by a large diviſion of the French forces, which had thrown up ſeveral ſtrong redoubts, and in attempting to land Wolfe was repulſed with loſs.

Above Quebec, the banks of the river are extremely high, and ſo ſteep at the ſame time, that by the French they were deemed inacceſſible. Foiled, however, in his firſt attempt to get on ſhore, General Wolfe formed the bold deſign of aſcending to the top of theſe banks, commonly called the Heights of Abraham. To prepare the way for it, poſſeſſion was taken of Point Levi, the point ſituated oppoſite to that on which Quebec ſtands, and from thence a heavy bombardment was commenced on the town, in order to deceive the enemy. In the mean time boats were prepared; the troops embarked; they paſſed the town with muffled oars, in the night, unobſerved, and landed at a cove, about two miles above. The ſoldiers clambered up the heights with great difficulty, and the guns were hauled up by means of ropes and pullies fixed round the trees, with which the banks are covered from top to bottom. At the top the plain commences, and extends cloſe under the walls of the city; here it was that the memorable battle was fought, in which General Wolfe unhappily periſhed, at the very moment when all his noble exertions were about to be crowned with

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that ſucceſs which they ſo eminently deſerved. The ſpot where the illuſtrious hero breathed his laſt is marked with a large ſtone, on which a true meridional line is drawn.

Notwithſtanding that the great Wolfe found it ſuch a very difficult taſk to get poſſeſſion of Quebec, and that it has been rendered ſo much ſtronger ſince his time, yet the people of the United States confidently imagine, at this day, that if there were a rupture with Great Britain, they need only ſend an army thither, and the place muſt fall into their hands immediately. Arnold, after his return from the expedition againſt the place, under Montgomery, in the year 1775, uſed frequently to declare, that if he had not been wounded he ſhould certainly have carried it. But however that expedition may be admired for its great boldneſs, it was, in reality, far from being ſo nearly attended with ſucceſs as the vanity of Arnold has led his countrymen to imagine.

All thoughts of taking the city by a regular ſiege were abandoned by the Americans, when they came before it; it was only by attempting to ſtorm it at an unexpected hour that they ſaw any probability of wreſting it from the Britiſh. The night of the thirty-firſt of December was accordingly fixed upon, and the city was attacked at the ſame moment in three places. But although the garriſon were completely ſurpriſed, and the greater part of the rampart guns had been diſmounted, and laid up for the winter, during which ſeaſon it was thought impoſſible for an army to make an attack ſo vigorous that cannon would be wanting to repel it, yet the Americans were at once baffled in their attempt. Arnold, in endeavouring to force St. John's Gate, which leads out on the back part of the town, not far from the plains of Abraham, was wounded, and repulſed with great loſs. Montgomery ſurpriſed the guard of the firſt barrier, at one end of the lower town, and paſſed it; but at the ſecond he was ſhot, and his men were driven back. The third diviſion of the Americans entered the lower town in another quarter, which, as I have before ſaid, lies very much expoſed, by paſſing over the ice: they remained there for a day or two, and during that time they ſet fire to ſome buildings, amongſt which was one of the religious houſes; but they were finally diſlodged without much difficulty. The two diviſions

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under Montgomery and Arnold were repulſed with a mere handful of men: the different detachments, ſent down from the upper town againſt the former, did not altogether amount, it is ſaid, to two hundred men. Arnold's attack was the maddeſt poſſible; for St. John's Gate, and the walls adjoining, are ſtupendous, and a perſon need but ſee them to be convinced that any attempt to ſtorm them muſt be fruitleſs without the aid of heavy artillery, which the Americans had not.

Independent of what it owes to its fortifications, and ſituation on the top of a rock, Quebec is indebted for much of its ſtrength to the ſeverity and great length of the winter, as in that ſeaſon it is wholly impracticable for a beſieging army either to carry on any works or blockade the town.

It requires about five thouſand ſoldiers to man the works at Quebec completely. A large garriſon is always kept in it, and abundance of ſtores of every deſcription. The troops are lodged partly in barracks, and partly in block houſes near Cape Diamond, which is the moſt elevated part of the point, and is reckoned to be upwards of one thouſand feet above the level of the river. The Cape is ſtrongly fortified, and may be conſidered as the citadel of Quebec; it commands the town in every direction, and alſo the plains at the outſide of the walls. The evening and morning guns, and all ſalutes and ſignals, are fired from hence. Notwithſtanding the great height of the rock above the river, water may readily be had even at the very top of it, by ſinking wells of a moderate depth, and in ſome particular places, at the ſides of the rock, it guſhes out in large ſtreams. The water is of a very good quality.

No cenſus has been lately taken of the number of houſes and inhabitants in Quebec; but it is ſuppoſed that, including the upper and lower towns and ſuburbs, there are at leaſt two thouſand dwellings; at the rate of ſix therefore to each houſe, the number of inhabitants would amount to twelve thouſand. About two thirds of the inhabitants are of French extraction. The ſociety in Quebec is agreeable, and very extenſive for a place of the ſize, owing to its being the capital of the lower province, and therefore the reſidence

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of the governor, different civil officers, principal lawyers, &c. &c. The large garriſon conſtantly kept in it makes the place appear very gay and lively.

The lower town of Quebec is moſtly inhabited by the traders who are concerned with the ſhipping, and it is a very diſagreeable place. The ſtreets are narrow and dirty, and owing to the great height of the houſes in moſt of them, the air is much confined; in the ſtreets next to the water alſo, there is oftentimes an intolerable ſtench from the ſhore when the tide is out. The upper town, on the contrary, is extremely agreeable: from its elevated ſituation the air is as pure as poſſible, and the inhabitants are never oppreſſed with heat in ſummer; it is far, however, from being well laid out, the ſtreets being narrow and very irregular. The houſes are for the moſt part built of ſtone, and except a few, erected of late years, ſmall, ugly, and inconvenient.

The chateau, wherein the governor reſides, is a plain building of common ſtone, ſituated in an open place, the houſes round which, form three ſides of an oblong ſquare. It conſiſts of two parts. The old and the new are ſeparated from each other by a ſpacious court. The former ſtands juſt on the verge of an inacceſſible part of the rock; behind it, on the outſide, there is a long gallery, from whence, if a pebble were let drop, it would fall at leaſt ſixty feet perpendicularly. This old part is chiefly taken up with the public offices, and all the apartments in it are ſmall and ill contrived; but in the new part, which ſtands in front of the other, facing the ſquare, they are ſpacious, and tolerably well finiſhed, but none of them can be called elegant. This part is inhabited by the governor's family. The chateau is built without any regularity of deſign, neither the old nor the new part having even an uniform front. It is not a place of ſtrength, as commonly repreſented. In the garden adjoining to it is merely a parapet wall along the edge of the rock, with embraſures, in which a few ſmall guns are planted, commanding a part of the lower town. Every evening during ſummer, when the weather is fine, one of the regiments of the garriſon parades in the open place before the chateau, and the band plays for an hour or two, at which

time the place becomes the resort of numbers of the most genteel people of the town, and has a very gay appearance.

Opposite to the chateau there is a monastery belonging to the Recollets or Franciscan friars; a very few only of the order are now left. Contiguous to this building is the college belonging to the Jesuits, whose numbers have diminished even still faster than that of the Recollets; one old man alone of the brotherhood is left, and in him are centered the immense possessions of that once powerful body in Canada, bringing in a yearly revenue of £. 10,000 sterling. This old man, whose lot it has been to outlive all the rest of the order, is by birth a Swiss: in his youth he was no more than a porter to the college, but having some merit he was taken notice of, promoted to a higher situation, and in the end created a lay brother. Though a very old man he is extremely healthy; he possesses an amiable disposition, and is much beloved on account of the excellent use he makes of his large fortune, which is chiefly employed in charitable purposes. On his death the property falls to the crown.

The nunneries are three in number, and as there is no restriction upon the female religious orders, they are all well filled. The largest of them, called L'Hospital General, stands in the suburbs, outside of the walls; another, of the order of St. Ursule, is not far distant from the chateau.

The engineer's drawing room, in which are kept a variety of models, together with plans of the fortifications of Quebec and other fortresses in Canada, is an old building, near the principal battery. Adjoining thereto stands the house where the legislative council and assembly of representatives meet, which is also an old building, that has been plainly fitted up to accommodate the legislature.

The armoury is situated near the artillery barrack, in another part of the town. About ten thousand stand of arms are kept in it, arranged in a similar manner with the arms in the Tower of London, but, if possible, with greater neatness and more fancy.

The artillery barracks are capable of containing about five hundred men, but the principal barracks are calculated to contain a much larger number;

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VIEW *of* CAPE DIAMOND.

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ber; they ſtand in the market place, not far diſtant from the ſquare in which the chateau is ſituated, but more in the heart of the town.

The market of Quebec is extremely well ſupplied with proviſions of every kind, which may be purchaſed at a much more moderate price than in any town I viſited in the United States. It is a matter of curioſity to a ſtranger to ſee the number of dogs yoked in little carts, that are brought into this market by the people who attend it. The Canadian dogs are found extremely uſeful in drawing burthens, and there is ſcarcely a family in Quebec or Montreal, that does not keep one or more of them for that purpoſe. They are ſomewhat ſimilar to the Newfoundland breed, but broader acroſs the loins, and have ſhorter and thicker legs; in general they are handſome, and wonderfully docile and ſagacious; their ſtrength is prodigious; I have ſeen a ſingle dog, in more than one inſtance, draw a man for a conſiderable diſtance that could not weigh leſs than ten ſtone. People, during the winter ſeaſon, frequently perform long journeys on the ſnow with half a dozen or more of theſe animals yoked in a cariole or ſledge.

I muſt not conclude this letter without making mention of the ſcenery that is exhibited to the view, from various parts of the upper town of Quebec, which, for its grandeur, its beauty, and its diverſity, ſurpaſſes all that I have hitherto ſeen in America, or indeed in any other part of the globe. In the variegated expanſe that is laid open before you, ſtupendous rocks, immenſe rivers, trackleſs foreſts and cultivated plains, mountains, lakes, towns, and villages, in turn ſtrike the attention, and the ſenſes are almoſt bewildered in contemplating the vaſtneſs of the ſcene. Nature is here ſeen on the grandeſt ſcale; and it is ſcarcely poſſible for the imagination to paint to itſelf any thing more ſublime than are the ſeveral proſpects preſented to the ſight of the delighted ſpectator. From Cape Diamond, ſituated one thouſand feet above the level of the river, and the loftieſt part of the rock on which the city is built, the proſpect is conſidered by many as ſuperior to that from any other ſpot. A greater extent of country opens upon you, and the eye is here enabled to take in more at once, than at any other place; but to me it appears, that the view from the cape is by no means ſo

fine as that, for inſtance, from the battery; for in ſurveying the different objects below you from ſuch a ſtupendous height, their magnitude is in a great meaſure loſt, and it ſeems as if you were looking at a draft of the country more than at the country itſelf. It is the upper battery that I allude to, facing the baſon, and is about three hundred feet above the level of the water. Here, if you ſtand but a few yards from the edge of the precipice, you may look down at once upon the river, the veſſels upon which, as they ſail up to the wharfs before the lower town, appear as if they were coming under your very feet. The river itſelf, which is between five and ſix miles wide, and viſible as far as the diſtant end of the iſland of Orleans, where it loſes itſelf amidſt the mountains that bound it on each ſide, is one of the moſt beautiful objects in nature, and on a fine ſtill ſummer's evening it often wears the appearance of a vaſt mirror, where the varied rich tints of the ſky, as well as the images of the different objects on the banks, are ſeen reflected with inconceivable luſtre. The ſouthern bank of the river, indented fancifully with bays and promontories, remains nearly in a ſtate of nature, cloathed with lofty trees; but the oppoſite ſhore is thickly covered with houſes, extending as along other parts of the river already mentioned, in one uninterrupted village, ſeemingly, as far as the eye can reach. On this ſide the proſpect is terminated by an extenſive range of mountains, the flat lands ſituated between and the villages on the banks not being viſible to a ſpectator at Quebec, it ſeems as if the mountains roſe directly out of the water, and the houſes were built on their ſteep and rugged ſides.

Beautiful as the environs of the city appear when ſeen at a diſtance, they do not appear leſs ſo on a more cloſe inſpection, and in paſſing through them the eye is entertained with a moſt pleaſing variety of fine landſcapes, whilſt the mind is equally gratified with the appearance of content and happineſs that reigns in the countenances of the inhabitants. Indeed, if a country as fruitful as it is picturesque, a genial and healthy climate, and a tolerable ſhare of civil and religious liberty, can make people happy, none ought to appear more ſo than the Canadians, during this delightful ſeaſon of the year.

Before

Before I diſmiſs this ſubject entirely, I muſt give you a brief account of two ſcenes in the vicinity of Quebec, more particularly deſerving of attention than any others. The one is the Fall of the River Montmorenci; the other, that of the Chaudiere. The former ſtream runs into the St. Lawrence, about ſeven miles below Quebec; the latter joins the ſame river nearly at an equal diſtance above the city.

The Montmorenci River runs in a very irregular courſe, through a wild and thickly wooded country, over a bed of broken rocks, till it comes to the brink of a precipice, down which it deſcends in one uninterrupted and nearly perpendicular fall of two hundred and forty feet. The ſtream of water in this river, except at the time of floods, is but ſcanty, but being broken into foam by ruſhing with ſuch rapidity as it does over the rocks at the top of the precipice, it is thereby much dilated, and in its fall appears to be a ſheet of water of no inconſiderable magnitude. The breadth of the river at top, from bank to bank, is about fifty feet only. In its fall, the water has the exact appearance of ſnow, as when thrown in heaps from the roof of a houſe, and it ſeemingly deſcends with a very ſlow motion. The ſpray at the bottom is conſiderable, and when the ſun happens to ſhine bright in the middle of the day, the priſmatic colours are exhibited in it in all their variety and luſtre. At the bottom of the precipice the water is confined in a ſort of baſon, as it were, by a maſs of rock, extending nearly acroſs the fall, and out of this it flows with a gentle current to the St. Lawrence, which is about three hundred yards diſtant. The banks of the Montmorenci, below the precipice, are nearly perpendicular on one ſide, and on both, inacceſſible, ſo that if a perſon be deſirous of getting to the bottom of the fall, he muſt deſcend down the banks of the St. Lawrence, and walk along the margin of that river till he comes to the chaſm through which the Montmorenci flows. To a perſon ſailing along the St. Lawrence, paſt the mouth of the chaſm, the fall appears in great beauty.

General Haldimand, formerly governor of Canada, was ſo much delighted with this cataract, that he built a dwelling houſe cloſe to it, from the parlour windows of which it is ſeen in a very advantageous point of view. In front of the houſe is a neat lawn, that runs down the whole

whole way to the St. Lawrence, and in various parts of it little ſummer-houſes have been erected, each of which commands a view of the fall. There is alſo a ſummer-houſe, ſituated nearly at the top of the fall, hanging directly over the precipice, ſo that if a bullet were dropped from the window, it would deſcend in a perpendicular line at leaſt two hundred feet. This houſe is ſupported by large beams of timber, fixed into the ſides of the chaſm, and in order to get to it you have to paſs over ſeveral flights of ſteps, and one or two wooden galleries, which are ſupported in the ſame manner. The view from hence is tremendouſly grand. It is ſaid, that the beams whereon this little edifice is erected are in a ſtate of decay, and many perſons are fearful of entering into it, leſt they ſhould give way; but being ignorant of the danger, if indeed there was any, our whole party ventured into it at once, and ſtaid there a conſiderable time, notwithſtanding its tremulous motion at every ſtep we trod. That the beams cannot laſt for ever is certain; it would be a wiſe meaſure, therefore, to have them removed or repaired in proper time, for as long as they remain ſtanding, perſons will be found that will venture into the unſteady fabrick they ſupport, and ſhould they give way at a moment when any perſons are in it, the cataſtrophe muſt inevitably be fatal.

The fall in the River Chaudiere is not half the height of that of the Montmorenci, but then it is no leſs than two hundred and fifty feet in breadth. The ſcenery round this cataract is much ſuperior in every reſpect to that in the neighbourhood of the Montmorenci. Contiguous to the latter there are few trees of any great magnitude, and nothing is near it to relieve the eye; you have the fall, and nought but the fall, to contemplate. The banks of La Chaudiere, on the contrary, are covered with trees of the largeſt growth, and amidſt the piles of broken rocks, which lie ſcattered about the place, you have ſome of the wildeſt and moſt romantic views imaginable. As for the fall itſelf, its grandeur varies with the ſeaſon. When the river is full, a body of water comes ruſhing over the rocks of the precipice, that aſtoniſhes the beholder; but in dry weather, and indeed during the greater part of the ſummer, we may ſay, the quantity of water is but trifling. At this ſeaſon there

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are few but what would prefer the falls of the Montmorenci River, and I am tempted to imagine that, upon the whole, the generality of people would give it the preference at all times.

LETTER XXV.

Of the Conſtitution, Government, Laws, and Religion of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada.—Eſtimate of the Expenſes of the Civil Liſt, of the Military Eſtabliſhment, and the Preſents to the Indians.—Salaries of certain Officers of the Crown.—Imports and Exports.—Taxes.

Quebec.

FROM the time that Canada was ceded to Great Britain until the year 1774, the internal affairs of the province were regulated by the ordinance of the governor alone. In purſuance of the Quebec Bill, which was then paſſed, a legiſlative council was appointed by his Majeſty in the country; the number of members was limited to twenty-three. This council had full power to make all ſuch ordinances and regulations as were thought expedient for the welfare of the province; but it was prohibited from levying any taxes, except for the purpoſe of making roads, repairing public buildings, or the like. Every ordinance was to be laid before the governor, for his Majeſty's approbation, within ſix months from the time it was paſſed, and no ordinance, impoſing a greater puniſhment on any perſon or perſons than a fine, or impriſonment for three months, was valid without his Majeſty's aſſent, ſignified to the council by the governor.

Thus were the affairs of the province regulated until the year 1791, when an act was paſſed in the Britiſh parliament, repealing ſo much of the Quebec Bill as related to the appointment of a council, and to the powers that had been granted to it; and which eſtabliſhed the preſent form of government.

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The country, at the ſame time, was divided into two diſtinct provinces; the province of Lower Canada, and the province of Upper Canada. The former is the eaſtern part of the old province of Canada; the latter, the weſtern part, ſituated on the northern ſides of the great lakes and rivers through which the boundary line runs, that ſeparates the Britiſh territories from thoſe of the United States. The two provinces are divided from each other by a line, which runs north, 24° weſt, commencing at Point au Baudet, in that part of the river St. Lawrence called Lake Francis, and continuing on from thence to the Utawas or Grand River. The city of Quebec is the capital of the lower province, as the town of Niagara is of the upper one.

The executive power in each province is veſted in the governor, who has for his advice an executive council appointed by his Majeſty. The legiſlative power of each province is veſted in the governor, a legiſlative council, and an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people. Their acts, however, are ſubject to the controul of his Majeſty, and in ſome particularcaſes to the controul of the Britiſh parliament.

Bills are paſſed in the council and in the aſſembly in a form ſomewhat ſimilar to that in which bills are carried through the Britiſh houſes of parliament; they are then laid before the governor, who gives or withholds his aſſent, or reſerves them for his Majeſty's pleaſure.

Such bills as he aſſents to are put in force immediately; but he is bound to tranſmit a true copy of them to the King, who in council may declare his diſallowance of them within two years from the time of their being received, in which caſe they become void.

Such as are reſerved for his Majeſty's aſſent are not to be put in force until that is received.

Moreover, every act of the aſſembly and council, which goes to repeal or vary the laws or regulations that were in exiſtence at the time the preſent conſtitution was eſtabliſhed in the country reſpecting tithes; the appropriation of land for the ſupport of a proteſtant clergy; the conſtituting and endowing of parſonages or rectories; the right of preſentation to the ſame, and the manner in which the incumbents ſhall hold them; the enjoyment and exerciſe of any form or mode of worſhip;

ſhip; the impoſing of any burdens and diſqualifications on account of the ſame; the rights of the clergy to recover their accuſtomed dues; the impoſing or granting of any further dues or emoluments to any eccleſiaſtics; the eſtabliſhment and diſcipline of the church of England; the King's prerogative, touching the granting of waſte lands of the crown within the province; every ſuch act, before it receives the royal aſſent, muſt be laid before both houſes of parliament in Great Britain, and the King muſt not give his aſſent thereto until thirty days after the ſame has been laid before parliament; and in caſe either houſe of parliament preſents an addreſs to the King to withhold his aſſent to any ſuch act or acts, it cannot be given.

By an act paſſed in the eighteenth year of his preſent Majeſty's reign, the Britiſh parliament has alſo the power of making any regulations which may be found expedient, reſpecting the commerce and navigation of the province, and alſo of impoſing import and export duties; but all ſuch duties are to be applied ſolely to the uſe of the province, and in ſuch a manner only as the laws made in the council and aſſembly direct.

The legiſlative council of Lower Canada conſiſts of fifteen members; that of Upper Canada of ſeven. The number of the members in each province muſt never be leſs than this; but it may be increaſed whenever his Majeſty thinks fit.

The counſellors are appointed for life, by an inſtrument under the great ſeal of the province, ſigned by the governor, who is inveſted with powers for that purpoſe by the King. No perſon can be a counſellor who is not twenty-one years of age, nor any one who is not a natural born ſubject, or who has not been naturalized according to act of parliament.

Whenever his Majeſty thinks proper, he may confer on any perſons hereditary titles of honour, with a right annexed to them of being ſummoned to ſit in this council, which right the heir may claim at the age of twenty-one; the right, however, cannot be acknowledged if the heir has been abſent from the province without leave of his Majeſty, ſignified to the council by the governor, for four years together, between

the time of his ſucceeding to the right and the time of his demanding it. The right is forfeited alſo, if the heir takes an oath of allegiance to any foreign power before he demands it, unleſs his Majeſty, by an inſtrument under the great ſeal of the province, ſhould decree to the contrary.

If a counſellor, after having taken his ſeat, abſent himſelf from the province for two years ſucceſſively, without leave from his Majeſty, ſignified to the council by the governor, his ſeat is alſo thereby vacated.

All hereditary rights, however, of ſitting in council, ſo forfeited, are only to be ſuſpended during the life of the defaulters, and on their death they deſcend with the titles to the next heirs *.

In caſes of treaſon, both the title and right of ſitting in the council are extinguiſhed.

All queſtions concerning the right of being ſummoned to the council are to be determined by the council; but an appeal may be had from their deciſion to his Majeſty in his parliament of Great Britain.

The governor has the power of appointing and removing the ſpeaker of the council.

The aſſembly of Lower Canada conſiſts of fifty members, and that of Upper Canada of ſixteen; neither aſſembly is ever to conſiſt of a leſs number.

The members for diſtricts, circles, or counties, are choſen by a majority of the votes of ſuch perſons as are poſſeſſed of lands or tenements in freehold, in fief, in boture, or by certificate derived under the authority of the governor and council of Quebec, of the yearly value of forty ſhillings, clear of all rents, charges, &c. The members for towns or townſhips are choſen by a majority of the votes of ſuch perſons as poſſeſs houſes and lands for [their own uſe, of the yearly value of five pounds ſterling, or as have reſided in the town or townſhip for one year, and paid a rent for a houſe during the time, at the rate of ten pounds yearly.

* No hereditary titles, with this right annexed, have yet been conferred on any perſons in Canada by his Britannic Majeſty.

No

No perſon is eligible to ſerve as a member of the aſſembly, who is a member of the legiſlative council, or a miniſter, prieſt, eccleſiaſtic, or religious perſonage of the church of England, Rome, or of any other church.

No perſon is qualified to vote or ſerve, who is not twenty-one years of age; nor any perſon, not a natural born ſubject, or who has not been naturalized, either by law or conqueſt; nor any one who has been attainted of treaſon in any court in his Majeſty's dominions, or who has been diſqualified by an act of aſſembly and council.

Every voter, if called upon, muſt take an oath, either in French or Engliſh, that he is of age; that he is qualified to vote according to law; and that he has not voted before at that election.

The governor has the power of appointing the place of ſeſſion, and of calling together, of proroguing, and of diſſolving the aſſembly.

The aſſembly is not to laſt longer than four years, but it may be diſſolved ſooner. The governor is bound to call it at leaſt once in each year.

The oath of a member, on taking his ſeat, is compriſed in a few words: he promiſes to bear true allegiance to the King, as lawful ſovereign of Great Britain, and the province of Canada dependant upon it; to defend him againſt all traitorous conſpiracies and attempts againſt his perſon; and to make known to him all ſuch conſpiracies and attempts, which he may at any time be acquainted with; all which he promiſes without mental evaſion, reſervation, or equivocation, at the ſame time renouncing all pardons and diſpenſations from any perſon or power whatſoever.

The governors of the two provinces are totally independent of each other in their civil capacity: in military affairs, the governor of the lower province takes precedence, as he is uſually created captain general of his Majeſty's forces in North America.

The preſent ſyſtem of judicature in each province was eſtabliſhed by the Quebec bill of 1774. By this bill it was enacted, that all perſons in the country ſhould be entitled to hold their lands or poſſeſſions in the ſame manner as before the conqueſt, according to the laws and uſages

then exiſting in Canada; and that all controverſies relative to property or civil rights ſhould alſo be determined by the ſame laws and uſages. Theſe old laws and uſages, however, were not to extend to the lands which might thereafter be granted by his Britannic Majeſty in free and common ſocage: here Engliſh laws were to be in full force; ſo that the * Engliſh inhabitants, who have ſettled for the moſt part on new lands, are not ſubject to the controul of theſe old French laws, that were exiſting in Canada when the country was conquered, except a diſpute concerning property or civil rights ſhould ariſe between any of them and the French inhabitants, in which caſe the matter is to be determined by the French laws. Every friend to civil liberty would wiſh to ſee theſe laws aboliſhed, for they weigh very unequally in favour of the rich and of the poor; but as long as the French inhabitants remain ſo wedded as they are at preſent to old cuſtoms, and ſo very ignorant, there is little hope of ſeeing any alteration of this nature take place. At the ſame time that the French laws were ſuffered by the Quebec bill to exiſt, in order to conciliate the affections of the French inhabitants, who were attached to them, the criminal law of England was eſtabliſhed throughout every part of the country; "and this was one of the "happieſt circumſtances," as the Abbé Raynal obſerves, "that Canada "could experience, as deliberate, rational, public trials took place of "the impenetrable myſterious tranſactions of a cruel inquiſition; and "as a tribunal, that had theretofore been dreadful and ſanguinary, was "filled with humane judges, more diſpoſed to acknowledge innocence "than to ſuppoſe criminality."

The governor, the lieutenant governor, or the perſon adminiſtering the government, the members of the executive council, the chief juſtices of the province, and the judges of the court of king's bench, or any five of them, form a court of appeal, the judges however excepted of that diſtrict from whence the appeal is made. From the deciſion

* I muſt obſerve here once for all that by Engliſh inhabitants I mean all thoſe whoſe native language is Engliſh, in contradiſtinction to the Canadians of French extraction, who univerſally ſpeak the French language, and no other.

of

of this court an appeal may be had in certain cafes to the King in council.

Every religion is tolerated, in the fulleft extent of the word, in both provinces; and no difqualifications are impofed on any perfons on account of their religious opinions. The Roman Catholic religion is that of a great majority of the inhabitants; and by the Quebec bill of 1774, the eccleſiaſtics of that perſuaſion are empowered by law to recover all the dues which, previous to that period, they were accuſtomed to receive, as well as tithes, that is, from the Roman Catholic inhabitants; but they cannot exact any dues or tithes from Proteſtants, or off lands held by Proteſtants, although formerly ſuch lands might have been ſubjected to dues and tithes for the ſupport of the Roman Catholic church. The dues and tithes from off theſe lands are ſtill, however, to be paid; but they are to be paid to perſons appointed by the governor, and the amount of them is to be reſerved, in the hands of his Majeſty's receiver general, for the ſupport of the Proteſtant clergy actually reſiding in the province.

By the act of the year 1791, alſo, it was ordained, that the governor ſhould allot out of all lands belonging to the crown, which ſhould be granted after that period, one-ſeventh for the benefit of a Proteſtant clergy, to be ſolely applicable to their uſe, and all ſuch allotments muſt be particularly ſpecified in every grant of waſte lands, otherwiſe the grant is void.

With the advice of the executive council, the governor is authorized to conſtitute or erect parſonages or rectories, and to endow them out of theſe appropriations, and to preſent incumbents to them, ordained according to the rites of the church of England, which incumbents are to perform the ſame duties, and to hold their parſonages or rectories in the ſame manner as incumbents of the church of England do in that country.

The clergy of the church of England, in both provinces, conſiſts at preſent of twelve perſons only, including the biſhop of Quebec; that of the church of Rome, however, conſiſts of no leſs than one hundred and twenty-ſix; viz. a biſhop, who takes his title from Quebec,

his " coadjuteur élu," who is biſhop of Canathe, three vicars general, and one hundred and ſixteen curates and miſſionaries, all of whom are reſident in the lower province, except five curates and miſſionaries.

The number of the diſſenting clergy, in both provinces, is conſiderably ſmaller than that of the clergy of the church of England.

The expences of the civil liſt in Lower Canada are eſtimated at £. 20,000 ſterling per annum, one half of which is defrayed by Great Britain, and the remainder by the province, out of the duties paid on the importation of certain articles. The expence of the civil liſt in Upper Canada is conſiderably leſs; perhaps not ſo much as a fourth of that of the lower province.

The military eſtabliſhment in both provinces, together with the repairs of fortifications, &c. are computed to coſt Great Britain annually £. 100,000 ſterling.

The preſents diſtributed amongſt the Indians, and the ſalaries paid to the different officers in the Indian department, are eſtimated at £. 100,000 ſterling more, annually.

Amongſt the officers in the Indian department are, ſuperintendants general, deputy ſuperintendants, inſpectors general, deputy inſpectors general, ſecretaries, aſſiſtant ſecretaries, ſtorekeepers, clerks, agents, interpreters, iſſuers of proviſions, ſurgeons, gunſmiths, &c. &c. &c. moſt of whom, in the lower province, have now ſinecure places, as there are but few Indians in the country; but in the upper province they have active ſervice to perform. Of the policy of iſſuing preſents to ſuch a large amount amongſt the Indians, more will be ſaid in the afterpart of this work.

The following is a ſtatement of ſome of the ſalaries paid to the officers of government in Lower Canada.

	£.	s.	d.
Governor general	2,000	—	—
Lieutenant governor	1,500	—	—
Executive counſellors, each	100	—	—
Attorney general	300	—	—
Solicitor general	200	—	—
Secretary and regiſter to the province	400	—	—

Clerk

	£.	s.	d.
Clerk of the court of appeals, with fire wood and ſtationary	120	—	—
Secretary to the governor	200	—	—
French ſecretary to the governor, and tranſlator to the council	200	—	—
Chief juſtice of Quebec, who is chief juſtice of the province	1,200	—	—
Chief juſtice of Montreal	900	—	—
Chief juſtice of Three Rivers	300	—	—
Receiver general	400	—	—
Surveyor general of lands	300	—	—
Deputy, and allowance for an office	150	—	—
Surveyor of woods	200	—	—
Grand voyer of Quebec	100	—	—
Grand voyer of Montreal	100	—	—
Grand voyer of Three Rivers	60	—	—
Superintendant of provincial poſt houſes	100	—	—
Clerk of the terraro of the king's domain	90	—	—
Clerk of the crown	100	—	—
Inſpector of police at Quebec	100	—	—
Inſpector of police at Montreal	100	—	—
Four miſſionaries to Indians, each	50	—	—
One miſſionary to Indians	45	—	—
Schoolmaſter at Quebec	100	—	—
Schoolmaſter at Montreal	50	—	—
Schoolmaſter at Carliſle, Bay de Chaleurs	25	—	—
Overſeers, to prevent fires at Quebec, and to ſweep the chimneys of the poor	60	—	—
Salary of the biſhop of Quebec, who is biſhop of both provinces	2,000	—	—
The penſions, between January 1794 and January 1795, amounted to	1,782	6	7

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A STATEMENT of the Articles ſubject to Duty on Importation into Canada, and of the Duties payable thereon.

	£.	s.	d.
Brandy and other ſpirits, the manufacture of Great Britain, per gallon	—	—	3
Rum and other ſpirits, imported from the colonies in the Weſt Indies, per gallon	—	—	6
Brandy and ſpirits of foreign manufacture, imported from Great Britain, per gallon	—	1	—
Additional duty on the ſame, per gallon	—	—	3
Rum or ſpirits manufactured in the United States, per gallon	—	1	—
Molaſſes and Syrups imported in Britiſh ſhipping, per gallon	—	—	3
Additional duty, per gallon	—	—	3
Molaſſes or Syrups legally imported in other than Britiſh ſhipping, per gallon	—	—	6
Additional duty, per gallon	—	—	3
Madeira wine, per gallon	—	—	6
Other wine	—	—	3

N. B. Wine can be imported directly from Madeira, or from any of the African iſlands, into Canada; but no European wine or brandy can be imported, except through England.

Loaf or lump ſugar, per lb.	—	—	1
Muſcovado or clayed ſugar	—	—	—½
Coffee, per lb.	—	—	2
Leaf tobacco, per lb.	—	—	2
Playing cards, per pack	—	—	2
Salt, the minot	—	—	4

N. B. The minot is a meaſure commonly uſed in Canada, which is to the Wincheſter buſhel, as 100 is to 108,765.

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The imports into Canada conſiſt of all the various articles which a young country, that does not manufacture much for its own uſe, can be ſuppoſed to ſtand in need of; ſuch as earthen ware, hardware, and houſehold furniture, except of the coarſer kinds; woollen and linen cloths, haberdaſhery, hoſiery, &c.; paper, ſtationary, leather and manufactures of leather, groceries, wines, ſpirits, Weſt Indian produce, &c. &c.; cordage of every deſcription, and even the coarſer manufactures of iron, are alſo imported.

The ſoil of the country is well adapted to the growth of hemp, and great pains have been taken to introduce the culture of it. Handbills, explaining the manner in which it can be raiſed to the beſt advantage, have been aſſiduouſly circulated amongſt the farmers, and poſted up at all the public houſes. It is a difficult matter, however, to put the French Canadians out of their old ways, ſo that very little hemp has been raiſed in conſequence of the pains that have been thus taken; and it is not probable that much will be raiſed for a conſiderable time to come.

Iron ore has been diſcovered in various parts of the country; but works for the ſmelting and manufacturing of it have been erected at one place only, in the neighbourhood of Trois Rivieres. Theſe works were erected by the king of France ſome time before the conqueſt: they are now the property of the Britiſh government, and are rented out to the perſons who hold them at preſent. When the leaſe expires, which will be the caſe about the year 1800, it is thought that no one will be found to carry on the works, as the bank of ore, from whence they are ſupplied, is nearly exhauſted. The works conſiſt of a forge and a foundry: iron ſtoves are the principal articles manufactured in the latter; but they are not ſo much eſteemed as thoſe from England.

Domeſtic manufactures are carried on in moſt parts of Canada, conſiſting of linen and of coarſe woollen cloths; but by far the greater part of theſe articles uſed in the country is imported from Great Britain.

The exports from Canada conſiſt of furs and pelts in immenſe quantities; of wheat, flour, flax-ſeed, potaſh, timber, ſtaves, and lumber of all ſorts; dried fiſh, oil, ginſeng, and various medicinal drugs.

The trade between Canada and Great Britain employs, it is ſaid, about ſeven thouſand tons of ſhipping annually.

LETTER XXVI.

Of the Soil and Productions of Lower Canada.—Obſervations on the Manufacture of Sugar from the Maple-tree.—Of the Climate of Lower Canada.—Amuſements of People of all Deſcriptions during Winter.—Carioles.—Manner of guarding againſt the Cold.—Great Hardineſs of the Horſes.—State of the River St. Lawrence on the Diſſolution of Winter.—Rapid Progreſs of Vegetation during Spring.—Agreeableneſs of the Summer and Autumn Seaſons.

Quebec.

THE eaſtern part of Lower Canada, between Quebec and the Gulph of St. Lawrence, is mountainous; between Quebec and the mouth of the Utawas River alſo a few ſcattered mountains are to be met with; but higher up the River St. Lawrence the face of the country is flat.

The ſoil, except where ſmall tracts of ſtony and ſandy land intervene, conſiſts principally of a looſe dark coloured earth, and of the depth of ten or twelve inches, below which there is a bed of cold clay. This earth towards the ſurface is extremely fertile, of which there cannot be a greater proof than that it continues to yield plentiful crops, notwithſtanding its being worked year after year by the French Canadians, without ever being manured. It is only within a few years back, indeed, that any of the Canadians have begun to manure their lands, and many ſtill continue, from father to ſon, to work the ſame fields without intermiſſion, and without ever putting

putting any manure upon them, yet the land is not exhauſted, as it would be in the United States. The manure principally made uſe of by thoſe who are the beſt farmers is marl, found in prodigious quantities in many places along the ſhores of the River St. Lawrence.

The ſoil of Lower Canada is particularly ſuited to the growth of ſmall grain. Tobacco alſo thrives well in it; it is only raiſed, however, in ſmall quantities for private uſe, more than one half of what is uſed in the country being imported. The Canadian tobacco is of a much milder quality than that grown in Maryland and Virginia: the ſnuff made from it is held in great eſtimation.

Culinary vegetables of every deſcription come to the greateſt perfection in Canada, as well as moſt of the European fruits: the currants, gooſeberries, and raſpberries are in particular very fine; the latter are indigenous, and are found in profuſion in the woods; the vine is alſo indigenous, but the grapes which it produces in its uncultivated ſtate are very poor, ſour, and but little larger than fine currants.

The variety of trees found in the foreſts of Canada is prodigious, and it is ſuppoſed that there many kinds are ſtill unknown: beech trees, oaks, elms, aſhes, pines, ſycamores, cheſnuts, walnuts, of each of which ſeveral different ſpecies are commonly met with; the ſugar maple tree is alſo found in almoſt every part of the country, a tree never ſeen but upon good ground. There are two kinds of this very valuable tree in Canada; the one called the ſwamp maple, from its being generally found upon low lands; the other, the mountain or curled maple, from growing upon high dry ground, and from the grain of the wood being very beautifully variegated with little ſtripes and curls. The former yields a much greater quantity of ſap, in proportion to its ſize, than the other, but this ſap does not afford ſo much ſugar as that of the curled maple. A pound of ſugar is frequently procured from two or three gallons of the ſap of the curled maple, whereas no more than the ſame quantity can be had from ſix or ſeven gallons of that of the ſwamp.

The moſt approved method of getting the ſap is by piercing a hole with an auger in the ſide of the tree, of one inch or an inch and half

in diameter, and two or three inches in depth, obliquely upwards; but the moſt common mode of coming at it is by cutting a large gaſh in the tree with an axe. In each caſe a ſmall ſpout is fixed at the bottom of the wound, and a veſſel is placed underneath to receive the liquor as it falls.

A maple tree of the diameter of twenty inches will commonly yield ſufficient ſap for making five pounds of ſugar each year, and inſtances have been known of trees yielding nearly this quantity annually for a ſeries of thirty years. Trees that have been gaſhed and mangled with an axe will not laſt by any means ſo long as thoſe which have been carefully pierced with an auger; the axe, however, is generally uſed, becauſe the ſap diſtils much faſter from the wound made by it than from that made by an auger, and it is always an object with the farmer, to have the ſap brought home, and boiled down as ſpeedily as poſſible, in order that the making of ſugar may not interfere with his other agricultural purſuits. The ſeaſon for tapping the trees is when the ſap begins to riſe, at the commencement of ſpring, which is juſt the time that the farmer is moſt buſied in making preparations for ſowing his grain.

It is a very remarkable fact, that theſe trees, after having been tapped for ſix or ſeven ſucceſſive years, always yield more ſap than they do on being firſt wounded; this ſap, however, is not ſo rich as that which the trees diſtil for the firſt time; but from its coming in an increaſed portion, as much ſugar is generally procured from a ſingle tree on the fifth or ſixth year of its being tapped as on the firſt.

The maple is the only ſort of raw ſugar made uſe of in the country parts of Canada; it is very generally uſed alſo by the inhabitants of the towns, whither it is brought for ſale by the country people who attend the markets, juſt the ſame as any other kind of country produce. The moſt common form in which it is ſeen is in loaves or thick round cakes, preciſely as it comes out of the veſſel where it is boiled down from the ſap. Theſe cakes are of a very dark colour in general, and very hard; as they are wanted they are ſcraped down with a knife, and when thus reduced into powder, the ſugar appears of a much lighter caſt, and

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not unlike Weſt Indian muſcovada or grained ſugar. If the maple ſugar be carefully boiled with lime, whites of eggs, blood, or any of the other articles uſually employed for clariſying ſugar, and properly granulated, by the draining off of the melaſſes, it is by no means inferior, either in point of ſtrength, flavour, or appearance to the eye, to any Weſt Indian ſugar whatſoever: ſimply boiled down into cakes with milk or whites of eggs it is very agreeable to the taſte.

The ingenious Dr. Nooth, of Quebec, who is at the head of the general hoſpital in Canada, has made a variety of experiments upon the manufacture of maple ſugar; he has granulated, and alſo refined it, ſo as to render it equal to the beſt lump ſugar that is made in England. To convince the Canadians alſo, who are as incredulous on ſome points as they are credulous on others, that it was really maple ſugar which they ſaw thus refined, he has contrived to leave large lumps, exhibiting the ſugar in its different ſtages towards refinement, the lower part of the lumps being left hard, ſimilar to the common cakes, the middle part granulated, and the upper part refined.

Dr. Nooth has calculated, that the ſale of the melaſſes alone would be fully adequate to the expence of refining the maple ſugar, if a manufactory for that purpoſe were eſtabliſhed. Some attempts have been made to eſtabliſh one of the kind at Quebec, but they have never ſucceeded, as the perſons by whom they were made were adventurers that had not ſufficient capitals for ſuch an undertaking. It ought not, however, to be concluded from this, that a manufactory of the ſort would not ſucceed if conducted by judicious perſons that had ample funds for the buſineſs; on the contrary, it is highly probable that it would anſwer.

There is great reaſon alſo to ſuppoſe, that a manufactory for making the ſugar from the beginning, as well as for refining it, might be eſtabliſhed with advantage.

Several acres together are often met with in Canada, entirely covered with maple trees alone; but the trees are moſt uſually found growing mixed with others, in the proportion of from thirty to fifty maple trees to every acre. Thouſands and thouſands of acres might be procured, within a very ſhort diſtance of the River St. Lawrence, for leſs than one ſhilling

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an acre, on each of which thirty maple trees would be found; but ſuppoſing that only twenty-five trees were found on each acre, then on a track of five thouſand acres, ſuppoſing each tree to produce five pounds of ſugar, 5,580 cwt. 2 qrs. 12 lbs. of ſugar might be made annually.

The maple tree attains a growth ſufficient for yielding five pounds of ſugar annually in the ſpace of twenty years; as the oaks and other kinds of trees, therefore, were cut away for different purpoſes, maples might be planted in their room, which would be ready to be tapped by the time that the old maple trees failed. Moreover, if theſe trees were planted out in rows regularly, the trouble of collecting the ſap from them would be much leſs than if they ſtood widely ſcattered, as they do in their natural ſtate, and of courſe the expence of making the ſugar would be conſiderably leſſened. Added to this, if young maples were conſtantly ſet out in place of the other trees, as they were cut down, the eſtate, at the end of twenty years, would yield ten times as much ſugar as it did originally.

It has been aſſerted, that the difficulty of maintaining horſes and men in the woods at the ſeaſon of the year proper for making the ſugar would be ſo great, as to render every plan for the manufactory of the ſugar on an extenſive ſcale abortive. This might be very true, perhaps, in the United States, where the ſubject has been principally diſcuſſed, and where it is that this objection has been made; but it would not hold good in Canada. Many tracks, containing five thouſand acres each, of ſugar maple land, might be procured in various parts of the country, no part of any of which would be more than ſix Engliſh miles diſtant from a populous village. The whole labour of boiling in each year would be over in the ſpace of ſix weeks; the trouble therefore of carrying food during that period, for the men and horſes that were wanting for the manufactory, from a village into the woods, would be trifling, and a few huts might be built for their accommodation in the woods at a ſmall expence.

The great labour requiſite for conveying the ſap from the trees, that grow ſo far apart, to the boiling houſe, has been adduced as another ob-

jection to the eſtabliſhment of an extenſive ſugar manufactory in the woods.

The ſap, as I have before obſerved, is collected by private families, by ſetting a veſſel into which it drops, under each tree, and from thence carried by hand to the place where it is to be boiled. If a regular manufactory, however, were eſtabliſhed, the ſap might be conveyed to the boiling houſe with far leſs labour; ſmall wooden troughs might be placed under the wounds in each trees, by which means the ſap might eaſily be conveyed to the diſtance of twenty yards, if it were thought neceſſary, into reſervoirs. Three or four of theſe reſervoirs might be placed on an acre, and avenues opened through the woods, ſo as to admit carts with proper veſſels to paſs from one to the other, in order to convey the ſap to the boiling houſes. Mere ſheds would anſwer for boiling houſes, and theſe might be erected at various different places on the eſtate, in order to ſave the trouble of carrying the ſap a great way.

The expence of cutting down a few trees, ſo as to clear an avenue for a cart, would not be much; neither would that of making the ſpouts, and common tubs for reſervoirs, be great in a country abounding with wood; the quantity of labour ſaved by ſuch means would, however, be very conſiderable.

When then, it is conſidered, that private families, who have to carry the ſap by hand from each tree to their own houſes, and often at a conſiderable diſtance from the woods, in order to boil it, can, with all this labour, afford to ſell ſugar, equally good with that which comes from the Weſt Indies, at a much lower price than what the latter is ſold at; when it is conſidered alſo, that by going to the ſmall expence, on the firſt year, of making a few wooden ſpouts and tubs, a very great portion of labour would be ſaved, and of courſe the profits on the ſale of the ſugar would be far greater; there is good foundation for thinking, that if a manufactory were eſtabliſhed on ſuch a plan as I have hinted at, it would anſwer extremely well, and that maple ſugar would in a ſhort time become a principal article of foreign commerce in Canada.

The ſap of the maple tree is not only uſeful in yielding ſugar; moſt excellent vinegar may likewiſe be made from it. In company with

ſeveral

ſeveral gentlemen I taſted vinegar made from it by Dr. Nooth, allowed by every one preſent to be much ſuperior to the beſt French white wine vinegar; for at the ſame time that it poſſeſſed equal acidity, it had a more delicious flavour.

Good table beer may likewiſe be made from the ſap, which many would miſtake for malt liquor.

If diſtilled, the ſap affords a very fine ſpirit.

The air of Lower Canada is extremely pure, and the climate is deemed uncommonly ſalubrious, except only in the weſtern parts of the province, high up the River St. Lawrence, where, as is the caſe in almoſt every part of the United States ſouth of New England, between the ocean and the mountains, the inhabitants ſuffer to a great degree from intermittent fevers. From Montreal downwards, the climate reſembles very much that of the ſtates of New England; the people live to a good old age, and intermittents are quite unknown. This great difference in the healthineſs of the two parts of the province muſt be attributed to the different aſpects of the country; to the eaſt, Lower Canada, like New England, is mountainous, but to the weſt it is an extended flat.

The extremes of heat and cold in Canada are amazing; in the months of July and Auguſt the thermometer, according to Fahrenheit, is often known to riſe to 96°, yet a winter ſcarcely paſſes over but even the mercury itſelf freezes. Thoſe very ſudden tranſitions, however, from heat to cold, ſo common in the United States, and ſo very injurious to the conſtitution, are unknown in Canada; the ſeaſons alſo are much more regular.

The ſnow generally begins to fall in November; but ſometimes it comes down as early as the latter end of October. This is the moſt diſagreeable part of the whole year; the air is then cold and raw, and the ſky dark and gloomy; two days ſeldom paſs over together without a fall either of ſnow or ſleet. By the end of the firſt or ſecond week, however, in December, the clouds are generally diſſolved, the froſt ſets in, the ſky aſſumes a bright and azure hue, and for weeks together it continues the ſame, without being obſcured by a ſingle cloud.

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The greateſt degree of cold which they experience in Canada, is in the month of January, when for a few days it is ſometimes ſo intenſe, that it is impoſſible for a human being to remain out of doors for any conſiderable time, without evident danger of being froſt bitten. Theſe very cold days, however, do not come altogether, but intervene generally at ſome little diſtance from each other; and between them, in the depth of winter, the air is ſometimes ſo warm that people in exerciſe, in the middle of the day, feel diſpoſed to lay aſide the thick fur cloaks uſually worn out of doors.

Thoſe who have ever paſſed a winter in Canada, have by no means that dread of its ſeverity, which ſome would have who have never experienced a greater degree of cold than what is commonly felt in Great Britain; and as for the Canadians themſelves, they prefer the winter to every other ſeaſon; indeed I never met with a Canadian, rich or poor, male or female, but what was of that opinion; nor ought this to excite our ſurpriſe, when it is conſidered that they paſs the winter ſo very differently from what we do. If a Canadian were doomed to ſpend but ſix weeks only in the country parts of England, when the ground was covered with ſnow, I dare venture to ſay that he would be as heartily tired of the ſameneſs which then pervaded the face of nature, and as deſirous of beholding a green field once more, as any one of us.

Winter in Canada is the ſeaſon of general amuſement. The clear froſty weather no ſooner commences, than all thoughts about buſineſs are laid aſide, and every one devotes himſelf to pleaſure. The inhabitants meet in convivial parties at each other's houſes, and paſs the day with muſic, dancing, card-playing, and every ſocial entertainment that can beguile the time. At Montreal, in particular, ſuch a conſtant and friendly intercourſe is kept up amongſt the inhabitants, that, as I have often heard it mentioned, it appears then as if the town were inhabited but by one large family.

By means of their carioles or ſledges, the Canadians tranſport themſelves over the ſnow, from place to place, in the moſt agreeable manner, and with a degree of ſwiftneſs that appears almoſt incredible; for with the ſame

horſe it is poſſible to go eighty miles in a day, ſo light is the draft of one of theſe carriages, and ſo favourable is the ſnow to the feet of the horſe. The Canadian cariole or ſledge is calculated to hold two perſons and a driver; it is uſually drawn by one horſe; if two horſes are made uſe of, they are put one before the other, as the track in the roads will not admit of their going abreaſt. The ſhape of the carriage is varied according to fancy, and it is a matter of emulation amongſt the gentlemen, who ſhall have the handſomeſt one. There are two diſtinct kinds, however, of carioles, the open and the covered. The former is commonly ſomewhat like the body of a capriole, put upon two iron runners or ſlides, ſimilar in ſhape to the irons of a pair of ſkates; the latter conſiſts of the body of a chariot put on runners in the ſame manner, and covered entirely over with furs, which are found by experience to keep out the cold much better than any other covering whatſoever. Covered carioles are not much liked, except for the purpoſe of going to a party in the evening, for the great pleaſure of carioling conſiſts in ſeeing and being ſeen, and the ladies always go out in moſt ſuperb dreſſes of furs. The carioles glide over the ſnow with great ſmoothneſs, and ſo little noiſe do they make in ſliding along, that it is neceſſary to have a number of bells attached to the harneſs, or a perſon continually ſounding a horn to guard againſt accidents. The rapidity of the motion, with the ſound of theſe bells and horns, appears to be very conducive to cheerfulneſs, for you ſeldom ſee a dull face in a cariole. The Canadians always take advantage of the winter ſeaſon to viſit their friends who live at a diſtance, as travelling is then ſo very expeditious; and this is another circumſtance which contributes, probably not a little, to render the winter ſo extremely agreeable in their eyes.

Though the cold is ſo very intenſe in Canada, yet the inhabitants never ſuffer from it, conſtant experience having taught them how to guard againſt it effectually.

In the firſt place, by means of ſtoves they keep their habitations as warm and comfortable as can be deſired. In large houſes they generally have four or five ſtoves placed in the hall, and in the apartments on the ground floor, from whence flues paſs in different directions through the

the upper rooms. Beſides theſe ſtoves, they likewiſe frequently have open fires in the lower apartments; it is more, however, on account of the cheerful appearance they give to the room, than for the ſake of the warmth they communicate, as by the ſtoves the rooms can be heated to any degree. Leſt any cold blaſts ſhould penetrate from without, they have alſo double doors, and if the houſe ſtands expoſed, even double windows, about ſix inches apart. The windows are made to open lengthwiſe in the middle, on hinges, like folding doors, and where they meet they lock together in a deep groove; windows of this deſcription, when cloſed, are found to keep out the cold air much better than the common ſaſhes, and in warm weather they are more agreeable than any other ſort, as they admit more air when opened. Nor do the inhabitants ſuffer from cold when they go abroad; for they never ſtir out without firſt wrapping themſelves up in furs from head to foot. Their caps entirely cover the ears, the back of the neck, and the greateſt part of the face, leaving nothing expoſed except the eyes and noſe; and their large and thick cloaks effectually ſecure the body; beſides which they wear fur gloves, muffs, and ſhoes.

It is ſurpriſing to ſee how well the Canadian horſes ſupport the cold; after ſtanding for hours together in the open air at a time when ſpirits will freeze, they ſet off as alertly as if it were ſummer. The French Canadians make no ſcruple to leave their horſes ſtanding at the door of a houſe, without any covering, in the coldeſt weather, while they are themſelves taking their pleaſure. None of the other domeſtic animals are as indifferent to the cold as the horſes. During winter all the domeſtic animals, not excepting the poultry, are lodged together in one large ſtable, that they may keep each other warm; but in order to avoid the expence of feeding many through the winter, as ſoon as the froſt ſets in they generally kill cattle and poultry ſufficient to laſt them till the return of ſpring. The carcaſes are buried in the ground, and covered with a heap of ſnow, and as they are wanted they are dug up; vegetables are laid up in the ſame manner, and they continue very good throughout the whole winter. The markets in the towns are always ſupplied beſt at this ſeaſon, and proviſions are then alſo the cheapeſt; for the

farmers having nothing elſe to engage them, and having a quantity of meat on hand, that is never injured from being ſent to market, flock to the towns in their carioles in great numbers, and always well ſupplied.

The winter generally continues till the latter end of April, and ſometimes even till May, when a thaw comes on very ſuddenly. The ſnow ſoon diſappears; but it is a long time before the immenſe bodies of ice in the rivers are diſſolved. The ſcene which preſents itſelf on the St. Lawrence at this ſeaſon is moſt tremendous. The ice firſt begins to crack from ſide to ſide, with a report as loud as that of a cannon. Afterwards, as the waters become ſwollen by the melting of the ſnow, it is broken into pieces, and hurried down the ſtream with prodigious impetuoſity; but its courſe is often interrupted by the iſlands and ſhallow places in the river; one large piece is perhaps firſt ſtopped, other pieces come drifting upon that, and at length prodigious heaps are accumulated, in ſome places riſing ſeveral yards above the level of the water. Sometimes theſe mounds of ice are driven from the iſlands or rocks, upon which they have accumulated, by the wind, and are floated down to the ſea in one entire body: if in going down they happen to ſtrike againſt any of the rocks along the ſhore, the craſh is horrible: at other times they remain in the ſame ſpot where they were firſt formed, and continue to obſtruct the navigation of the river for weeks after every appearance of froſt is baniſhed on ſhore; ſo very widely alſo do they frequently extend in particular parts of the river, and ſo ſolid are they at the ſame time, that in croſſing from ſhore to ſhore, the people, inſtead of being at the trouble of going round them, make directly for the ice, diſembark upon it, drag their bateaux or canoes acroſs, and launch them again on the oppoſite ſide. As long as the ice remains in the St. Lawrence, no ſhips attempt to paſs up or down; for one of theſe large bodies of ice is equally dangerous with a rock.

The rapid progreſs of vegetation in Canada, as ſoon as the winter is over, is moſt aſtoniſhing. Spring has ſcarcely appeared, when you find it is ſummer. In a few days the fields are clothed with the richeſt verdure, and the trees obtain their foliage. The various productions of the garden

garden come in after each other in quick ſucceſſion, and the grain ſown in May affords a rich harveſt by the latter end of July. This part of the year, in which ſpring and ſummer are ſo happily blended together, is delightful beyond deſcription; nature then puts on her gayeſt attire; at the ſame time the heat is never found oppreſſive; it is ſeldom that the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer then riſes above 84°: in July and Auguſt the weather becomes warmer, and a few days often intervene when the heat is overcoming; during theſe months the mercury ſometimes riſes to 96°. There is a great difference, however, in the weather at this ſeaſon in different years: during the whole of the time that I was in the country, I never obſerved the thermometer higher than 88°; for the greater part of the months of July and Auguſt it was not higher than 80°, and for many days together it did not riſe beyond 65°, between Quebec and Montreal.

The fall of the year is a moſt agreeable ſeaſon in Canada, as well as the ſummer.

It is obſerved, that there is in general a difference of about three weeks in the length of the winter at Montreal and at Quebec, and of courſe in the other ſeaſons. When green peas, ſtrawberries, &c. were entirely gone at Montreal, we met with them in full ſeaſon at Quebec.

LETTER XXVII.

Inhabitants of Lower Canada.—Of the Tenures by which Lands are held.—Not favourable to the Improvement of the Country.—Some Observations thereon.—Advantages of settling in Canada and the United States compared.—Why Emigrations to the latter Country are more general.—Description of a Journey to Stoneham Township near Quebec.—Description of the River St. Charles.—Of Lake St. Charles.—Of Stoneham Township.

Quebec.

ABOUT five-sixths of the inhabitants of Lower Canada are of French extraction, the bulk of whom are peasants, living upon the lands of the seigniors. Amongst the English inhabitants devoted to agriculture, but few, however, are to be found occupying land under seigniors, notwithstanding that several of the seigniories have fallen into the hands of Englishmen; the great majority of them hold the lands which they cultivate by virtue of certificates from the governor, and these people for the most part reside in the western parts of the province, bordering upon the upper parts of the river St. Lawrence.

The seigniors, both French and English, live in a plain simple style; for although the seigniories in general are extensive, but few of them afford a very large income to the proprietors.

The revenues of a seigniory arise from certain fines called lods and vents, which are paid by the vassals on the alienation of property, as when a farm, or any part of it, is divided by a vassal, during his lifetime, amongst his sons, or when any other than the immediate issue of a vassal succeeds to his estate, &c. &c. The revenues arise also from certain fines paid on the granting of fresh lands to the vassals, and from the profits of the mills of the seignior, to which the vassals are bound to send all their corn to be ground.

This last obligation is sometimes extremely irksome to the vassal, when, for instance, on a large seigniory there is not more than one mill; for although it should be ten miles distant from his habitation, and he could get his corn ground on better terms close to his own

door, yet he cannot ſend it to any other mill than that belonging to the ſeignior, under a heavy penalty.

The extent of ſeigniorial rights in Canada, particularly in what relates to the levying of the lods and vents, ſeems to be by no means clearly aſcertained, ſo that where the ſeignior happens to be a man of a rapacious diſpoſition, the vaſſal is ſometimes compelled to pay fines, which, in ſtrict juſtice perhaps, ought not to be demanded. In the firſt provincial aſſembly that was called, this buſineſs was brought forward, and the equity and policy was ſtrongly urged by ſome of the Engliſh members that poſſeſſed conſiderable abilities, of having proper bounds fixed to the power of the ſeigniors, and of having all the fines and ſervices due from their vaſſals accurately aſcertained, and made generally known; but the French members, a great number of whom were themſelves ſeigniors, being ſtrongly attached to old habits, and thinking that it was conducive to their intereſt that their authority ſhould ſtill continue undefined, oppoſed the meaſure with great warmth, and nothing was done.

Nearly all thoſe parts of Canada which were inhabited when the country was under French government, as well as the unoccupied lands granted to individuals during the ſame period, are comprized under different ſeigniories, and theſe, with all the uſages and cuſtoms thereto formerly pertaining, were confirmed to the proprietaries by the Quebec bill, which began to be in force in May 1775; theſe lands, therefore, are held by unqueſtionable titles. All the waſte lands, however, of the crown, that have been allotted ſince the conqueſt, have been granted ſimply by certificates of occupation, or licenſes from the governor, giving permiſſion to perſons who applied for theſe lands to ſettle upon them; no patents, conveying a clear poſſeſſion of them, have ever been made out; it is merely by courteſy that they are held; and if a governor thought proper to reclaim them on the part of the crown, he has only to ſay the word, and the titles of the occupiers ſink into air. Thus it is, that although ſeveral perſons have expended large ſums of money in procuring, and afterwards improving townſhips*, none of

* Tracts of waſte land, uſually ten miles ſquare.

them

them are yet enabled to ſell a ſingle acre as an indemnification for theſe expences; at leaſt no title can be given with what is offered for ſale, and it is not therefore to be ſuppoſed, that purchaſers of ſuch property will eaſily be found. It is true, indeed, that the different proprietaries of theſe townſhips have been aſſured, on the part of government, that patents ſhall be granted to every one of them, and they are fully perſuaded that theſe will be made out ſome time or other; but they have in vain waited for them for three years, and they are anxiouſly waiting for them ſtill *.

Different motives have been aſſigned for this conduct on the part of the Britiſh government. In the firſt place it has been alledged, that the titles are withheld, in order to prevent ſpeculation and land jobbing from riſing to the ſame height in Canada as they have done in the United States.

It is a notorious fact, that in the United States land jobbing has led to a ſeries of the moſt nefarious practices, whereby numbers have already ſuffered, and by which ſtill greater numbers muſt ſuffer hereafter. By the machinations of a few intereſted individuals, who have contrived by various methods to get immenſe tracts † of waſte land into their poſſeſſion, fictitious demands have been created in the market for land, the price of it has conſequently been enhanced much beyond its intrinſic worth, and theſe perſons have then taken the opportunity of ſelling what they had on hand at an enormous profit. The wealth that has been accumulated by particular perſons in the United States, in this manner, is prodigious; and numberleſs others, witneſſes to their proſperity, have been tempted to make purchaſes of land, in hopes of realizing for-

* I received a letter, dated early in the year 1796, from a gentleman in Canada, who has taken up one of theſe townſhips, which contains the following paragraph: "At preſent the matter remains in an unſettled ſtate, although every ſtep has been taken on my part to accelerate the completion of the buſineſs. Mr. D——'s patent, which was ſent home as a model, is not yet returned. I received a letter lately from Mr. Secretary R——, in which he informs me, that Mr. G—— is again returned to the ſurveyor's office, and he aſſures me, that in conjunction with him, he will do every thing in his power to expedite my obtaining a patent. The governor, he ſays, means that the land buſineſs ſhould go forward."

† There have been many inſtances in the United States of a ſingle individual's holding upwards of three millions of acres at one time, and ſome few individuals have been known to hold even twice that quantity at once.

tunes

tunes in a similar way, by selling out small portions at an advanced price. Thus it is that the nominal value of waste land has been raised so suddenly in the United States; for large tracts, which ten years before were selling for a few pence per acre, have sold in numberless instances, lately, for dollars per acre, an augmentation in price which the increase of population alone would by no means have occasioned. Estates, like articles of merchandize, have passed, before they have ever been improved, through the hands of dozens of people, who never perhaps were within five hundred miles of them, and the consumer or farmer, in consequence of the profits laid on by those people, to whom they have severally belonged, has had frequently to pay a most exorbitant price for the little spot which he has purchased.*

Speculation and land jobbing carried to such a pitch cannot but be deemed great evils in the community, and to prevent them from extending into Canada appears to be an object well worthy the attention of government; but it seems unnecessary to have recourse for that purpose to the very exceptionable measure of withholding a good title to all lands granted by the crown, a measure disabling the land holder from taking the proper steps to improve his estate, which gives rise to distrust and suspicion, and materially impedes the growing prosperity of the country.

It appears to me, that land-jobbing could never arrive at such a height in Canada as to be productive of similar evils to those already growing up from it in the United States, or similar to those further ones with which the country is threatened, if no more land were granted by the crown, to any one individual, than a township of ten thousand acres; or should it be thought that grants of such an extent even opened too wide a field

* In the beginning of the year 1796, this traffic was at its highest pitch, and at this time General Washington, so eminently distinguished for his prudence and foresight, perceiving that land had risen beyond its actual value, and persuaded that it could not rise higher for some years to come, advertised for sale every acre of which he was possessed, except the farms of Mount Vernon. The event shewed how accurate his judgment was. In the close of the year, one of the great land jobbers, disappointed in his calculations, was obliged to abscond; the landed property was shaken to its very foundation; bankruptcies spread like wildfire from one great city to another, and men that had begun to build castles, found themselves likely to have no habitation for a time than the common sort.

for ſpeculation, certain reſtrictions might be laid upon the grantee; he might be bound to improve his townſhip by a clauſe in the patent, invalidating the ſale of more than a fourth or fifth of it, unleſs to actual ſettlers, until a certain number of people ſhould be reſident thereon *. Such a clauſe would effectually prevent the evil; for it is the granting of very extenſive tracts of waſte lands to individuals, without binding them in any way to improve them, which gives riſe to ſpeculation and land-jobbing.

By others it is imagined, that the withholding of clear titles to the lands is a meaſure adopted merely for the purpoſe of preventing a diminution of the inhabitants from taking place by emigration.

Not only townſhips have been granted by certificates of occupation, but alſo numberleſs ſmall portions of land, from one hundred acres upwards, particularly in Upper Canada, to royaliſts and others, who have at different periods emigrated from the United States. Theſe people have all of them improved their ſeveral allotments. By withholding any better title, therefore, than that of a certificate, they are completely tied down to their farms, unleſs, indeed, they think proper to abandon them, together with the fruits of many years labour, without receiving any compenſation whatſoever for ſo doing.

It is not probable, however, that theſe people, if they had a clear title to their lands, would return back to the United States; the royaliſts, who were driven out of the country by the ill treatment of the other inhabitants, certainly would not; nor would the others, who have voluntarily quitted the country, return, whilſt ſelf-intereſt, which led them originally to come into Canada, operated in favour of their remaining there. It was the proſpect of getting land on advantageous terms which induced them to emigrate; land is ſtill a cheaper article in Canada than in the United States; and as there is much more waſte land in the former, than in the latter country, in proportion to the num-

* The plan of binding every perſon that ſhould take up a townſhip to improve it, by providing a certain number of ſettlers, has not wholly eſcaped the notice of government; for in the licences of occupation, by which each townſhip is allotted, it is ſtipulated, that every perſon ſhall provide forty ſettlers for his townſhip; but as no given time is mentioned for the procuring of theſe ſettlers, the ſtipulation becomes nugatory.

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ber of the inhabitants, it will probably continue so for a length of time to come. In the United States, at present, it is impossible to get land without paying for it; and in parts of the country where the soil is rich, and where some settlements are already made, a tract of land, sufficient for a moderate farm, is scarcely to be procured under hundreds of dollars. In Canada, however, a man has only to make application to government, and on his taking the oath of allegiance, he immediately gets one hundred acres of excellent uncleared land, in the neighbourhood of other settlements, gratis; and if able to improve it directly, he can get even a larger quantity. But it is a fact worthy of notice, which banishes every suspicion relative to a diminution of the inhabitants taking place by emigrations into the States, that great numbers of people from the States actually emigrate into Canada annually, whilst none of the Canadians, who have it in their power to dispose of their property, emigrate into the United States, except, indeed, a very few of those who have resided in the towns.

According to the opinion of others again, it is not for either of the purposes already mentioned, that clear titles are withheld to the lands granted by the crown, but for that of binding down to their good behaviour the people of each province, more particularly the Americans that have emigrated from the States lately, who are regarded by many with an eye of suspicion, notwithstanding they have taken the oaths of allegiance to the crown. It is very unfair, however, to imagine that these people would be ready to revolt a second time from Great Britain, if they were made still more independent than they are now, merely because they did so on a former occasion, when their liberties and rights as men and as subjects of the British empire were so shamefully disregarded; on the contrary, were clear titles granted with the lands bestowed by the crown on them, and the other subjects of the province, instead of giving rise to disaffection, there is every reason to think it would make them still more loyal, and more attached to the British government, as no invidious distinctions could then be drawn between the condition of the land holders in the States and those in Canada. The material rights and liberties of the people would then be full as exten-

five in the one country as in the other; and as no positive advantage could be gained by a revolt, it is not likely that Americans, of all people in the world the most devoted to self-interest, would expose their persons and properties in such an attempt.

If, however, the Americans from the States are people that would abuse such favours from the crown, why were they admitted into the province at all? The government might easily have kept them out, by refusing to them any grants of lands; but at any rate, were it thought expedient to admit them, and were such measures necessary to keep them in due subjection, it seems hard that the same measures should be adopted in regard to the inhabitants of the province, who stood firm to the British government, even at the time when the people in every other part of the continent revolted.

For whatever reason this system of not granting unexceptionable titles with the land, which the crown voluntarily bestows on its faithful subjects, has been adopted, one thing appears evident, namely, that it has very considerably retarded the improvement of both the provinces; and indeed, as long as it is continued, they must both remain very backward counties, compared with any of the adjoining states. Were an opposite system, however, pursued, and the lands granted merely with such restrictions as were found absolutely necessary, in order to prevent jobbing, the happy effects of a measure of that nature would soon become visible; the face of the country would be quickly meliorated, and it is probable that there would not be any part of North America, where they would, after a short period, be able to boast that improvement had taken place more rapidly.

It is very certain, that were the lands granted in this manner, many more people would annually emigrate into Canada from the United States than at present; for there are numbers who come yearly into the country to "explore it," that return back solely because they cannot get lands with an indisputable title; I have repeatedly met with these people myself in Upper Canada, and have heard them express the utmost disappointment at not being able to get lands on such terms even for money; I have heard others in the states also speak to the same purport

port after they had been in Canada; it is highly probable, moreover, that many of the people, who leave Great Britain and Ireland for America, would then be induced to settle in Canada instead of the United States, and the British empire would not, in that case, lose, as it does now, thousands of valuable citizens every year.

What are the general inducements, may here be asked, to people to quit Great Britain for the United States? They have been summed up by Mr. Cooper *, in his letters published in 1794, on the subject of emigrating to America; and we cannot have recourse, *on the whole*, to better authority.

"In my mind," he says, "the first and principal inducement to a per-
"son to quit England for America is, *the total absence of anxiety respect-*
"*ing the future success of a family*. There is little fault to find with the
"government of America, that is, of the United States, either in prin-
"ciple or practice. There are few taxes to pay, and those are of ac-
"knowledged necessity, and moderate in amount. There are no ani-
"monties about religion, and it is a subject about which few questions
"are asked; there are few respecting political men or political mea-
"sures; the present irritation of men's minds in Great Britain, and the
"discordant state of society on political accounts, is not known there.
"The government is the government of the people, and for the people.
"There are no tythes nor game laws; and excise laws upon spirits only,
"and similar to the British only in name. There are no great men of
"rank, nor many of great riches; nor have the rich the power of
"oppressing the less rich, for poverty is almost unknown; nor are the
"streets crowded with beggars. You see no where the disgusting and
"melancholy contrast, so common in Europe, of vice and filth, and
"rags and wretchedness, in the immediate neighbourhood of the most
"wanton extravagance, and the most useless and luxurious parade; nor
"are the common people so depraved as in Great Britain. Quarrels are
"uncommon, and boxing matches unknown in the streets. There are

* Mr. Cooper, late of Manchester, who emigrated to America with all his family, and whose authority has been very generally quoted by the Americans who have since written on the subject of emigration.

"to

" no military to keep the people in awe. Robberies are very rare. All " theſe are real advantages; but great as they are, they do not weigh " with me ſo much as the ſingle conſideration firſt mentioned."

Any perſon that has travelled generally through the United States muſt acknowledge, that Mr. Cooper has here ſpoken with great partiality; for as to the morality and good order that prevails amongſt the people, he has applied to all of them what only holds true with reſpect to thoſe who live in the moſt improved parts of the country.

He is extremely inaccurate alſo, in repreſenting the people of the ſtates as free from all animoſities about political meaſures; on the contrary, there is no country on the face of the globe, perhaps, where party ſpirit runs higher, where political ſubjects are more frequently the topic of converſation amongſt all claſſes, and where ſuch ſubjects are more frequently the cauſe of rancorous diſputations and laſting differences amongſt the people. I have repeatedly been in towns where one half of the inhabitants would ſcarcely deign to ſpeak to the other half, on account of the difference of their political opinions; and it is ſcarcely poſſible, in any part of the country, to remain for a few hours in a mixed company of men, without witneſſing ſome acrimonious diſpute from the ſame cauſe.

Let us, however, compare the inducements which he holds out to people in England to leave that country for America, that is, for the United States, with the inducements there would be to ſettle in Canada, under the premiſed ſuppoſition, that the land was there granted in an unexceptionable manner.

From the land being plentiful in Canada, and conſequently at a very low price, but likely to increaſe in value, whilſt in the States, on the contrary, it has riſen to an exorbitant value, beyond which it is not likely to riſe for ſome time to come, there can be no doubt but that a man of moderate property could provide for his family with much more eaſe in Canada than in the United States, as far as land were his object.

In Canada, alſo, there is a much greater opening for young men acquainted with any buſineſs or profeſſion that can be carried on in America,

rica, than there is in the United States. The expence of ſettling in Canada would be far leſs alſo than in any one of the ſtates; for in the former country the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life are remarkably cheap, whilſt, on the contrary, in the other they are far dearer than in England; a man therefore would certainly have no greater anxiety about the future ſucceſs of a family in Canada than in the United States, and the abſence of this anxiety, according to Mr. Cooper, *is the great inducement to ſettle in the States, which weighs with him more than all other conſiderations put together.*

The taxes of Lower Canada have already been enumerated; they are of acknowledged neceſſity, and much lower in amount and number than thoſe paid in the States.

There are no animoſities in Canada about religion, and people of all perſuaſions are on a perfect equality with each other, except, indeed, it be the proteſtant diſſenters, who may happen to live on lands that were ſubject to tithes under the French government; they have to pay tithes to the Engliſh epiſcopalian clergy; but there is not a diſſenter living on tithe lands, perhaps, in the whole province. The lands granted ſince the conqueſt are not liable to tithes. The Engliſh epiſcopalian clergy are provided for by the crown out of the waſte lands, and all diſſenters have ſimply to pay their own clergy.

There are no game laws in Canada, nor any exciſe laws whatſoever.

As for the obſervation made by Mr. Cooper in reſpect to the military, it is almoſt too futile to deſerve notice. If a ſoldier, however, be an object of terror, the timid man will not find himſelf at eaſe in the United States any more than in England, as he will meet with ſoldiers in New York, on Governor's Iſland, at Mifflin Fort near Philadelphia, at the forts on the North River, at Niagara, at Detroit, and at Oſwego, &c. on the lakes, and all through the weſtern country, at the different poſts which were eſtabliſhed by General Wayne.

In every other reſpect, what Mr. Cooper has ſaid of the United States holds good with regard to Canada; nay more, it muſt certainly in addition be allowed by every unprejudiced perſon that has been in both countries, that morality and good order are much more conſpicuous

amongst the Canadians of every description, than the people of the States; drunkenness is undoubtedly much less common amongst them, as is gambling, and also quarrels.

But independent of these inducements to settle in Canada, there is still another circumstance which ought to weigh greatly with every British emigrant, according to the opinion even of Mr. Cooper himself. After advising his friends "to go where land is cheap and fertile, and "where it is in a progress of improvement," he recommends them "to go somewhere, if possible, *in the neighbourhood of a few English*, "whose society, even in America, is interesting to an English settler, "who cannot entirely relinquish the *memoria temporis aevi*;" that is, as he particularly mentions in another passage, "he will find their "manners and conversation far more agreeable than those of the Ame-"ricans," and from being chiefly in their company, he will not be so often tormented with the painful reflection, that he has not only left, but absolutely renounced his native country, and the men whom he once held dear above all others, and united himself, in their stead, with people whose vain boasts and ignorant assertions, however harsh and grating they may sound to his ears, he must listen to without murmuring.

Now in Canada, particularly in Lower Canada, in the neighbourhood of Quebec and Montreal, an English settler would find himself surrounded by his countrymen; and although his moderate circumstances should have induced him to leave England, yet he would not be troubled with the disagreeable reflection that he had totally renounced his native land, and sworn allegiance to a foreign power; he would be able to consider with heartfelt satisfaction, that he was living under the protection of the country wherein he had drawn his first breath; that he was contributing to her prosperity, and the welfare of many of his countrymen, while he was ameliorating his own fortune.

From a due consideration of every one of the before mentioned circumstances, it appears evident to me, that there is no part of America so [illegible] an English or Irish settler as the vicinity of Montreal or [illegible] and within [illegible] miles of each of these places [illegible] of additional inhabitants.

I muſt not omit here to give ſome account of a new ſettlement in the neighbourhood of Quebec, which I and my fellow travellers viſited in company with ſome neighbouring gentlemen, as it may in ſome degree tend to confirm the truth of what I have ſaid reſpecting the impolicy of withholding indiſputable titles to the lands lately granted by the crown, and as it may ſerve at the ſame time to ſhew how many eligible ſpots for new ſettlements are to be found in the neighbourhood of this city.

We ſet off from Quebec in calaſhes, and following, with a little deviation only, the courſe of the River St. Charles, arrived on the margin of the lake of the ſame name, about twelve miles diſtant from Quebec.

The River St. Charles flows from the lake into the baſon, near Quebec; at its mouth it is about thirty yards wide, but not navigable for boats, except for a few miles up, owing to the numerous rocks and falls. In the ſpring of the year, when it is much ſwollen by floods, rafts have been conducted down the whole way from the lake, but this has not been accompliſhed without great difficulty, ſome danger, and a conſiderable loſs of time in paſſing the different portages. The diſtance from the lake to Quebec being ſo ſhort, land carriage muſt always be preferred to a water conveyance along this river, except it be for timber.

The courſe of the St. Charles is very irregular; in ſome places it appears almoſt ſtagnant, whilſt in others it ſhoots with wonderful impetuoſity over deep beds of rocks. The views upon it are very romantic, particularly in the neighbourhood of Lorette, a village of the Huron Indians, where the river, after falling in a beautiful caſcade over a ledge of rocks, winds through a deep dell, ſhaded on each ſide with tall trees.

The face of the country between Quebec and the lake is extremely pleaſing, and in the neighbourhood of the city, where the ſettlements are numerous, well cultivated; but as you retire from it the ſettlements become fewer and fewer, and the country of courſe appears wilder. From the top of a hill, about half a mile from the lake, which commands a fine view of that and the adjacent country, not more than five

or fix houſes are to be ſeen, and beyond theſe there is no ſettlement beſide that on Stoneham townſhip, the one under immediate notice.

On arriving at the lake, we found two canoes in waiting for us, and embarked on board.

Lake St. Charles is about four miles and a half in length, and its breadth on an average about three quarters of a mile. It conſiſts of two bodies of water nearly of the ſame ſize; they communicate together by a narrow paſs, through which a ſmart current ſets towards Quebec. The ſcenery along the lower part of the lake is unintereſting, but along the upper part of it the views are highly pictureſque, particularly upon a firſt entrance through the paſs. The lake is here interſperſed with large rocks; and cloſe to the water on one ſide, as far as the eye can reach, rocks and trees appear blended together in the moſt beautiful manner. The ſhores are bold, and richly ornamented with hanging woods; and the head of the lake being concealed from the view by ſeveral little promontories, you are led to imagine that the body of water is far more extenſive than in reality. Towards the upper end the view is terminated by a range of blue hills, which appear at a diſtance, peeping over the tops of the tall trees. When a few ſettlements come to be made here, open to the lake, for the land bordering upon it is quite in its natural ſtate, this muſt indeed be a heavenly little ſpot.

The depth of the water in the lake is about eight feet, in ſome places more, in others leſs. The water is clear, and as ſeveral ſmall ſtreams fall into it to ſupply what runs off by the River St. Charles, it is kept conſtantly in a ſtate of circulation; but it is not well taſted, owing as is conceived to the bottom being in ſome parts overgrown with weeds. Prodigious numbers of bull frogs, however, are found about the ſhores, which ſhews that ſprings of good water abound near it, for theſe creatures are never met with but where the water is of a good quality.

At the upper part of the lake we landed, and having proceeded for about half a mile over ſome low ground bare of trees, from being annually flooded on the diſſolution of the ſnow, we ſtruck into the woods. Here a road newly cut ſoon attracted our attention, and following the

courſe of it for a mile or two, we at laſt eſpied, through a ſudden opening between the trees, the charming little ſettlement.

The dwelling houſe, a neat boarded little manſion painted white, together with the offices, were ſituated on a ſmall eminence; to the right, at the bottom of the ſlope, ſtood the barn, the largeſt in all Canada, with a farm yard exactly in the Engliſh ſtyle; behind the barn was laid out a neat garden, at the bottom of which, over a bed of gravel, ran a purling ſtream of the pureſt water, deep enough, except in a very dry ſeaſon, to float a large canoe. A ſmall lawn laid down in graſs appeared in front of the houſe, ornamented with clumps of pines, and in its neighbourhood were about ſixty acres of cleared land. The common method of clearing land in America is to grub up all the bruſhwood and ſmall trees merely, and to cut down the large trees about two feet above the ground: the remaining ſtumps rot in from ſix to ten years, according to the quality of the timber; in the mean time the farmer ploughs between them the beſt way he can, and where they are very numerous he is ſometimes obliged to uſe even the ſpade or the hoe to turn up the ſoil. The lands, however, at this ſettlement had been cleared in a different manner, for the trees and roots had all been grubbed up at once. This mode of proceeding is extremely expenſive, ſo that few of thoſe deſtined to make new ſettlements could afford to adopt it; and, moreover, it has not been accurately proved that it is the moſt profitable one; but the appearance of lands ſo cleared is greatly ſuperior to thoſe cleared in the common method.

In another reſpect alſo the lands at this ſettlement had been cleared in a ſuperior manner to what is commonly to be met with in America; for large clumps of trees were left adjoining to the houſe, and each field was encircled with wood, whereby the crops were ſecured from the bad effects of ſtorms. The appearance of cultivated fields thus ſituated, as it were, in the midſt of a foreſt, was inconceivably beautiful.

The economy of this little farm equalled its beauty. The fields, neatly fenced in and furniſhed with handſome gates, were cultivated according to the Norfolk ſyſtem of huſbandry, and had been brought to yield the moſt plentiful crops of every different ſort of grain: the farm

yard was filled with as fine cattle as could be ſeen in any country; and the dairy afforded excellent butter, and abundance of good cheeſe.

Beſides the dwelling-houſe before mentioned, there were ſeveral log houſes on different parts of this farm, inhabited by the people who were engaged in clearing the land. All theſe appeared delighted with the ſituation; nor were ſuch of them as had come a ſhort time before from England at all diſpleaſed with the climate; they informed me, that they had enjoyed perfect health from the moment of their landing, and found no inconvenience from the intenſe cold of the winter ſeaſon, which appears ſuch an inſuperable objection to many againſt ſettling in Canada.

This ſettlement, together with the townſhip it is ſituated upon, are the property of a clergyman formerly reſident at Quebec. The townſhip is ten miles ſquare, commencing where the moſt remote of the old ſeigniories end, that is, within eighteen miles of the city of Quebec; but though within this ſhort diſtance of a large city, it was almoſt totally unknown until about five or ſix years ago, when the preſent proprietor, with a party of Indians and a few friends, ſet out himſelf to examine the quality of the lands. They proved to be rich; the timber was luxuriant; the face of the country agreeably diverſified with hill and dale, interſperſed with beautiful lakes, and interſected by rivers and mill ſtreams in every direction. Situated alſo within ſix miles of old ſettlements, through which there were eſtabliſhed roads, being convenient to a market at the capital of Canada, and within the reach of ſociety at leaſt as agreeable, if not more ſo, than is to be found in all America, nothing ſeemed wanting to render it an eligible ſpot for a new ſettlement; accordingly the proprietor made application to government; the land was ſurveyed, the townſhip marked out, and it was allotted to him merely, however, by a certificate of occupation.

Several other gentlemen, charmed with the excellent quality and beautiful diſpoſition of the lands in this part of the country, have taken up adjoining townſhips, but at none of them have any ſettlements been made, nor is it probable that any will be, until the proprietaries get better titles; indeed, it has excited the ſurpriſe of a numerous ſet of people

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in the province, to see even the little settlement I have spoken of established on land held under such a tenure.

That unexceptionable titles may be speedily made out to these lands is sincerely to be hoped; for may we not, whenever that measure shall take place, expect to see these beautiful provinces, that have so long remained almost unknown, rising into general notice? May we not then expect to behold them increasing rapidly in population, and making hasty strides towards the attainment of that degree of prosperity and consequence, which their soil, climate, and many other natural advantages have so eminently qualified them for enjoying? And surely the empire at large would be greatly benefited by such a change in the state of Canada; for as the country increased in population, it would increase in riches, and there would then be a proportionably greater demand for English manufactures; a still greater trade would also be carried on then between Canada and the West Indies than at present, to the great advantage of both countries *; a circumstance that would give employment to a greater number of British ships: as Canada also increased in wealth, it would be enabled to defray the expences of its own government, which at present falls so heavily upon the people of Great Britain: neither is there reason to imagine that Canada, if allowed to attain such a state of prosperity, would be ready to disunite herself from Great Britain, supposing that Great Britain should remain as powerful as at present, and that Canada continued to be governed with mildness and wisdom; for she need but turn towards the United States to be convinced that the great mass of her people were in the possession of as much happiness and liberty as those of the neighbouring country, and that whatever she might lose by exposing herself to the horrors of a sanguinary war, she could gain no essential or immediate advantages whatsoever, by asserting her own independence.

* All those articles of American produce in demand in the West Indies may be had on much better terms in Canada than in the United States; and if the Canadian merchants had sufficient capitals to enable them to trade thither largely, there can hardly be a doubt but that the people of the British West Indian isles would draw their supplies from Canada rather than from any other part of America. The few cargoes at present sent from Quebec always command a preference in the West Indian markets over those sent from any part of the United States.

LETTER XXVIII.

Leave Quebec.—Convenience of Travelling between that City and Montreal. —Poſt Houſes.—Calaſhes.—Drivers.—Canadian Horſes very ſerviceable. —Salutations on arriving at different Poſt Houſes.—Beautiful Proſpects from the Road on the Top of the Banks of the St. Lawrence.—Female Peaſants.—Style of Farming in Canada.—Conſiderably improved of late. —Inactivity of Canadians in not clearing more Land.—Their Character contraſted with that of the People of the States.—Arrival at Trois Rivieres.—Deſcription of that Town and its Vicinity.—Viſit to the Convent of St. Urſule.—Manufactures of Birch-Bark.—Birch Canoes, how formed.—Leave Trois Rivieres, and reach Montreal.

Montreal, Auguſt.

HAVING remained in Quebec and the neighbourhood as long as we could, conſiſtently with the plan which we had formed of viſiting the Falls of Niagara, and returning again into the States before the commencement of winter, we ſet out for Montreal by land.

In no part of North America can a traveller proceed ſo commodiouſly as along this road between Quebec and Montreal; a regular line of poſt houſes, at convenient diſtances from each other, being eſtabliſhed upon it, where calaſhes or carioles, according to the ſeaſon, are always kept in readineſs. Each poſtmaſter is obliged to have four calaſhes, and the ſame number of carioles; and beſides theſe, as many more are generally kept at each ſtage by perſons called aids-de-poſte, for which the poſtmaſter calls when his own happen to be engaged. The poſtmaſter has the excluſive privilege of furniſhing theſe carriages at every ſtage, and, under a penalty, he muſt have them ready in a quarter of an hour after they are demanded by a traveller, if it be day-light, and in half an hour ſhould it be in the night. The drivers are bound to take you on at the rate of two leagues an hour. The charge for a calaſh with a ſingle

horſe is one ſhilling Halifax * currency per league; no gratuity is expected by the driver.

The poſt calaſhes are very clumſily built, but upon the whole we found them eaſy and agreeable carriages; they are certainly far ſuperior to the American ſtage waggons, in which, if perſons with to travel with comfort, they ought always to ſet out provided with cuſhions for their hips and elbows, otherwiſe they cannot expect but to receive numberleſs contuſions before they get to the end of their journey.

The horſes in Canada are moſtly ſmall and heavy, but extremely ſerviceable, as is evident from thoſe employed for the poſt carriages being in general fat and very briſk on the road, notwithſtanding the poor fare and ill uſage they receive. They are ſeldom rubbed down; but as ſoon as they have performed their journey are turned into a field, and there left until the next traveller arrives, or till they are wanted to perform the work of the farm. This is contrary to the regulations of the poſt, according to which the horſes ſhould be kept in the ſtable, in perfect readineſs for travellers; however, I do not recollect that we were at any place detained much beyond the quarter of an hour preſcribed, notwithſtanding that the people had frequently to ſend for their horſes, more than a mile, to the fields where they were employed. When the horſes happened to be at a diſtance, they were always brought home in a full gallop, in order to avoid complaints; they were yoked in an inſtant, and the driver ſet off at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour; a little money, indeed, generally induces them to exceed the eſtabliſhed rate; this, however, does not always anſwer, but play upon their vanity and you may make them go on at what rate you pleaſe, for they are the vaineſt people, perhaps, in the world. Commend their great dexterity in driving, and the excellence of the Canadian horſes, and it ſeldom fails to quicken your pace at leaſt two or three miles an hour; but if you

* According to Halifax currency, which is the eſtabliſhed currency of Lower Canada, the dollar paſſes for five ſhillings.

The ſilver coins current in Canada are dollars, halves, quarters, eighths, and ſixteenths of dollars, piſtareens, Spaniſh coins ſomewhat leſs valuable than quarter dollars, and French and Engliſh crowns and half crowns. Gold coins paſs only as bullion by weight. Britiſh and Portugal gold coins are deemed the beſt; next to them thoſe of Spain, then thoſe of France.

with

wiſh to go in a gallop, you need only obſerve to your companion, ſo as to be overheard by the driver, that the Canadian calaſhes are the vileſt carriages on earth, and ſo heavy that you believe the people are afraid the horſes would fall down and break their necks if they attempted to make them go as faſt as in other countries; above all, praiſe the carriages and drivers of the United States. A few remarks of this ſort at once diſcompoſe the tempers of the drivers, and their paſſion is conſtantly vented in laſhes on their horſes.

To haſten the ſpeed of their horſes they have three expreſſions, riſing above each other in a regular climax. The firſt, "Marche," is pronounced in the uſual tone of voice; "Marche-donc," the ſecond, is pronounced more haſtily and louder; if the horſe is dull enough not to comprehend this, then the "Marche-donc," accompanied with one of Sterne's magical words, comes out, in the third place, in a ſhrill piercing key, and a ſmart laſh of the whip follows. From the frequent uſe made by the drivers of theſe words, the calaſhes have received the nick-name of "marche-donc."

The firſt poſt houſe is nine miles from Quebec, which our drivers, of their own accord, managed to reach in one hour. No ſooner were we in ſight of it, than the poſtmaſter, his wife in her cloſe French cap, and all the family, came running out to receive us. The foremoſt driver, a thin fellow of about ſix feet high, with a queue bound with eel ſkins that reached the whole way down his back, immediately cracked his whip, and having brought his calaſh to the door, with a great air he leapt out, bowed reſpectfully at a diſtance to the hoſteſs, then advancing with his hat off, paid her a few compliments, and kiſſed both her cheeks in turn, which ſhe preſented to him with no ſmall condeſcenſion. Some minutes are generally ſpent thus at every poſt houſe in mutual congratulations on meeting, before the people ever think of getting a freſh carriage ready.

The road between Quebec and Montreal runs, for the moſt part, cloſe upon the banks of the River St. Lawrence, through theſe beautiful little towns and villages ſeen to ſo much advantage from the water; and as the traveller paſſes along, he is entertained with proſpects,

J. Hall delt.

J. B. Drayton sculp.

CANADIAN CALASH or MARCHE DONC.

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if poſſible, ſuperior to thoſe which ſtrike the attention in ſailing down the river.

For the firſt thirty or forty miles in the way from Quebec, the views are in particular extremely grand. The immenſe River St. Lawrence, more like a lake confined between ranges of mountains than a river, appears at one ſide rolling under your feet, and as you look down upon it from the top of the lofty banks, the largeſt merchant veſſels ſcarcely ſeem bigger than fiſhing boats; on the other ſide, ſteep mountains, ſkirted with foreſts, preſent themſelves to the view at a diſtance, whilſt, in the intermediate ſpace, is ſeen a rich country, beautifully diverſified with whitened cottages and glittering ſpires, with groves of trees and cultivated fields, watered by innumerable little ſtreams: groups of the peaſantry, buſied as we paſſed along in getting in the harveſt, which was not quite over, diffuſed an air of cheerfulneſs and gaiety over the ſcene, and heightened all its charms.

The female French peaſants are in general, whilſt young, very pretty, and the neat ſimplicity of their dreſs in ſummer, which conſiſts moſtly of a blue or ſcarlet bodice without ſleeves, a petticoat of a different colour, and a ſtraw hat, makes them appear extremely intereſting; like the Indians, however, they loſe their beauty very prematurely, and it is to be attributed much to the ſame cauſe, namely, their laborious life, and being ſo much expoſed to the air, the indolent men ſuffering them to take a very active part in the management of the farms.

The ſtyle of farming amongſt the generality of the French Canadians has hitherto been very ſlovenly; manure has been but rarely uſed; the earth juſt lightly turned up with a plough, and without any other preparation the grain ſown; more than one half of the fields alſo have been left without any fences whatſoever, expoſed to the ravages of cattle. The people are beginning now, however, to be more induſtrious, and better farmers, owing to the increaſed demand for grain for exportation, and to the advice and encouragement given to them by the Engliſh merchants at Quebec and Montreal, who ſend agents through the country to the farmers to buy up all the corn they can ſpare. The

farmers are bound to have their corn ready by a certain day on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and bateaux are then ſent by the merchants to receive and convey it to the port where it is to be ſhipped,

All the ſettlements in Lower Canada lie contiguous to the River St. Lawrence: in no place perhaps do they extend farther back than twelve miles from it, except along the banks of the River St. Jean, the River des Prairies, and ſome other navigable ſtreams falling into the St. Lawrence. This is owing to the diſpoſition of the French Canadians, who, like the Germans, are fond of living near each other; nay more, as long as the farm of the father will admit of a diviſion, a ſhare of it is given to the ſons when they are grown up, and it is only when the farm is exceedingly ſmall, or the family numerous, that they ever think of taking up a piece of freſh land from the ſeignior. In this reſpect a wonderful difference appears between their conduct and that of the young people of the United States, particularly of thoſe of New England, who, as ſoon as they are grown up, immediately emigrate, and bury themſelves in the woods, where, perhaps, they are five or ſix hundred miles diſtant from every relation upon earth: yet a ſpirit of enterprize is not wanting amongſt the Canadians; they eagerly come forward, when called upon, to traverſe the immenſe lakes in the weſtern regions; they laugh at the dreadful ſtorms on thoſe prodigious bodies of water; they work with indefatigable perſeverance at the oar and the pole in ſtemming the rapid currents of the rivers; nor do they complain, when, on theſe expeditions, they happen to be expoſed to the inclemency of the ſeaſons, or to the ſevereſt pangs of hunger. The ſpirit of the Canadian is excited by vanity; he delights in talking to his friends and relatives of the excurſions he has made to thoſe diſtant regions; and he glories in the perils which he has encountered: his vanity would not be gratified by chopping down trees and tilling the earth; he deems this therefore merely a ſecondary purſuit, and he ſets about it with reluctance: ſelf intereſt, on the contrary, it is that rouſes the citizen of the ſtate into action, and accordingly he gladly emigrates to a diſtant part of the country, where he thinks land is in the moſt riſing ſtate, and where

where he hopes to be able the ſooneſt to gratify a paſſion to which he would readily make a ſacrifice of every ſocial tie, and of all that another man would hold dear.

On the ſecond day of our journey from Quebec to Montreal we reached Trois Rivieres, lying nearly midway between the two places. This town is ſituated on the banks of the St. Lawrence, cloſe to the mouth of the River St. Maurice, the largeſt of upwards of thirty that fall into the St. Lawrence, on the north-weſt ſide alone, between Quebec and Montreal. This river, before it unites with the St. Lawrence, is divided into three ſtreams by two large iſlands, ſo that to a perſon ſailing paſt its mouth it appears as if three diſtinct rivers diſembogued at the one ſpot; from hence it is that the town of Trois Rivieres receives its name.

The St. Maurice is not navigable for large veſſels, neither is it for ſloops more than a few miles above its mouth. In bateaus and canoes, however, it may be aſcended nearly to its ſource; from whence, if credit is to be given to the accounts of the Indians, the diſtance is not very great to the head of navigable rivers that fall into Hudſon's Bay; at a future day, therefore, if ever the dreary and inhoſpitable waſte through which it paſſes ſhall put on a different aſpect from what it now wears, and become the abode of human beings inſtead of wild beaſts, the St. Maurice may be eſteemed a river of the firſt importance in a commercial point of view; at preſent there are a few ſcattered ſettlements on each ſide of it, from its mouth as far as the iron works, which are about nine miles diſtant from Trois Rivieres; beyond that the country is but little known except to Indians.

Trois Rivieres contains about two hundred and fifty or three hundred houſes, and ranks as the third town, in point of ſize, in the provinces. It is one of the oldeſt ſettlements in the country, and its founder, it is ſaid, calculated upon its becoming in a ſhort time a city of great extent. It has hitherto, however, increaſed but very ſlowly in ſize, and there is no reaſon to imagine that it will increaſe more rapidly in future, at leaſt until the country bordering upon the St. Maurice becomes ſettled, a period that may be very diſtant. The bank of iron ore in the neighbourhood, by the

manufacture of which it was expected that the town would ſuddenly become opulent, is now nearly exhauſted; nor do we find that this bank has ever furniſhed more ore than was ſufficient to keep one ſmall forge and one ſmall foundry employed at intervals. The fur trade alſo, from which ſo much benefit was expected, is now almoſt wholly centered at Quebec and Montreal; it is merely the ſmall quantity of furs brought down the St. Maurice, and ſome of the northern rivers that fall into the St. Lawrence, nearer to the town of Trois Rivieres than to Quebec or Montreal, that is ſhipped there. Theſe furs are laden on board the Montreal ſhips, which ſtop oppoſite to the town as they go down the river.

The country in the vicinity of Trois Rivieres has been repreſented by ſome French travellers as wonderfully fertile, and as one of the moſt agreeable parts of Canada; but it is totally the reverſe. It is a level barren tract, and ſo ſandy, that in walking along many of the ſtreets of the town, and the roads in the neighbourhood, you ſink into the ſand at every ſtep above the ankles. The ſand is of a whitiſh colour, and very looſe. The air alſo ſwarms with muſquitoes, a certain proof of the low damp ſituation of the place. In none of the other inhabited parts of Canada, except in the neighbourhood of Lake St. Charles, were we ever annoyed with theſe troubleſome inſects. In Quebec, indeed, and Montreal, they are ſcarcely ever ſeen.

The ſtreets in Trois Rivieres are narrow, and the houſes in general ſmall and indifferent; many of them are built of wood. There are two churches in the town, the one an Engliſh epiſcopalian, the other a large Roman catholic pariſh church, formerly ſerved by the Recollets, or Franciſcan friars, but the order is now extinct in Trois Rivieres. The old monaſtery of the order, a large ſtone building, at preſent lies quite deſerted; and many of the houſes in the neighbourhood being alſo uninhabited, that part of the town wherein it is ſituated has a very dull gloomy aſpect. The college or monaſtery of the Jeſuits, alſo a large old building of ſtone in the ſame neighbourhood, has been converted into a gaol.

The only religious order at preſent exiſting in the town is that of St. Urſule, the ſiſterhood of which is as numerous as the convent will well

permit. It was founded by M. de St. Vallier, biſhop of Quebec, in the year 1677. It is a ſpacious building, ſituated near that formerly belonging to the Recollets, and annexed to it, under the ſame roof, there is an hoſpital attended by the nuns. We were introduced to the chaplain of the order, a poor French emigrant curé, an intereſting and apparently a moſt amiable man, and under his guidance we received permiſſion to viſit the convent.

The firſt part we entered was the chapel, the doors of which open to the ſtreet under a porch. It is very lofty, but the area of it is ſmall. The altar, which is grand, and richly ornamented, ſtands nearly oppoſite to the entrance, and on each ſide of it is a lattice, the one communicating with an apartment allotted for ſick nuns, the other with the cœur of the chapel. On ringing a ſmall bell, a curtain at the inſide of this laſt lattice was withdrawn, and an apartment diſcovered, ſomewhat larger than the chapel, ſurrounded with pews, and furniſhed with an altar, at the foot of which ſat two of the ſiſterhood, with books in their hands, at their meditations. The fair Urſuline, who came to the lattice, ſeemed to be one of thoſe unfortunate females that had at laſt begun to feel all the horrors of confinement, and to lament the raſhneſs of that vow which had ſecluded her for ever from the world, and from the participation of thoſe innocent pleaſures, which, for the beſt and wiſeſt of purpoſes, the beneficent Ruler of the univerſe meant that his creatures ſhould enjoy. As ſhe withdrew the curtain, ſhe caſt a momentary glance through the grating, that imparted more than could be expreſſed by the moſt eloquent words; then retiring in ſilence, ſeated herſelf on a bench in a diſtant part of the cœur. The melancholy and ſorrow pourtrayed in the features of her lovely countenance intereſted the heart in her behalf, and it was impoſſible to behold her without partaking of that dejection which hung over her ſoul, and without deprecating at the ſame time the cruelty of the cuſtom which allows, and the miſtaken zeal of a religion that encourages, an artleſs and inexperienced young creature to renounce a world, of which ſhe was deſtined, perhaps, to be a happy and uſeful member, for an unprofitable life of ſolitude, and unremitted penance for ſins never committed!

The

The hoſpital, which lies contiguous to the chapel, conſiſts of two large apartments, wherein are about twelve or fourteen beds. The apartments are airy, and the beds neat and well appointed. Each bed is dedicated to a particular ſaint, and over the foot of it is an invocation to the tutelary ſaint, in large characters, as, "St. Jaques priez pour moi." "St. Jean priez pour moi," &c. The patients are attended by a certain number of the ſiſterhood appointed for that purpoſe. An old prieſt, who appeared to be near his death, was the only perſon in the hoſpital when we paſſed through it; he was ſeated in an eaſy chair by the bed-ſide, and ſurrounded by a number of the ſiſters, who paid him the moſt aſſiduous attention.

The dreſs of the Urſulines conſiſts of a black ſtuff gown; a handkerchief of white linen tied by a running ſtring cloſe round the throat, and hanging down over the breaſt and ſhoulders, being rounded at the corners; a head-piece of white linen, which covers half the forehead, the temples, and ears, and is faſtened to the handkerchief; a black gauze veil, which conceals half the face only when down, and flows looſely over the ſhoulders; and a large plain ſilver croſs ſuſpended from the breaſt. The dreſs is very unbecoming, the hair being totally concealed, and the ſhape of the face completely diſguiſed by the cloſe white head-piece.

From the hoſpital we were conducted through a long paſſage to an agreeable light parlour, the windows of which opened into the gardens of the convent. This was the apartment of the "Superieure," who ſoon made her appearance, accompanied by a number of the lay ſiſters. The converſation of the old lady and her protegées was lively and agreeable; a thouſand queſtions were aſked us reſpecting the former part of our tour, and our future deſtination; and they ſeemed by no means diſpleaſed at having a few ſtrangers of a different ſex from their own within the walls of the convent. Many apologies were made, becauſe they could not take us through the "interieure," as there was an ordinance againſt admitting any viſiters into it without leave from the biſhop; they regretted exceedingly that we had not obtained this leave before we left Quebec. After ſome time was ſpent in converſation, a

great

great variety of fancy works, the fabrication of the ſiſterhood, was brought down for our inſpection, ſome of which it is always expected that ſtrangers will purchaſe, for the order is but poor. We ſelected a few of the articles which appeared moſt curious, and having received them packed up in the neateſt manner in little boxes kept for the purpoſe, and promiſed to preſerve them in memory of the fair Urſulines that handed them to us, we bade adieu to the ſupericure, and returned to our lodgings.

It is for their very curious bark work that the ſiſters of this convent are particularly diſtinguiſhed. The bark of the birch tree is what they uſe, and with it they make pocket-books, work-baſkets, dreſſing-boxes, &c. &c. which they embroider with elk hair died of the moſt brilliant colours. They alſo make models of the Indian canoes, and various warlike implements uſed by the Indians.

Nearly all the birch bark canoes in uſe on the St. Lawrence and Utawa Rivers, and on the nearer lakes, are manufactured at Three Rivers, and in the neighbourhood, by Indians. The birch tree is found in great plenty near the town; but it is from the more northern part of the country, where the tree attains a very large ſize, that the principal part of the bark is procured that canoes are made with. The bark reſembles in ſome degree that of the cork tree, but it is of a cloſer grain, and alſo much more pliable, for it admits of being rolled up the ſame as a piece of cloth. The Indians of this part of the country always carry large rolls of it in their canoes when they go on a hunting party, for the purpoſe of making temporary huts. The bark is ſpread on ſmall poles over their heads, and faſtened with ſtrips of elm bark, which is remarkably tough, to ſtake, ſo as to form walls on the ſides.

The canoes are made with birch bark, as follows: The ribs, conſiſting of thick tough rods, are firſt bound together; then the birch bark is ſowed on in as large pieces as poſſible, and a thick coat of pitch is laid over the ſeams between the different pieces. To prevent the bark being injured by the cargo, and to make the canoe ſtronger, its inſide is lined with two layers of thin pieces of pine, laid in a contrary direction to each other.

other. A canoe made in this manner is ſo light that two men could eaſily carry one on their ſhoulders capable of containing ſix people.

The birch canoes made at Three Rivers are put together with the utmoſt neatneſs, and on the water they appear very beautiful. They are made from a ſize ſufficient to hold one man only, to a ſize large enough for upwards of twenty. It is wonderful to ſee with what velocity a few ſkilful men with paddles can take one of theſe canoes of a ſize ſuitable to their number. In a few minutes they would leave the beſt moulded keel boat, conducted by a ſimilar number of men with oars, far behind. None but experienced perſons ought ever to attempt to navigate birch canoes, for they are ſo light that they are apt to be overſet by the leaſt improper movement of the perſons in them.

The day after that on which we quitted Trois Rivieres, we reached Montreal once more. The villages between the two places are very numerous, and the face of the country around them is pleaſing, ſo that the eye of the traveller is conſtantly entertained as he paſſes on; but there is nothing in this part of the country particularly deſerving of mention.

LETTER XXIX.

The Party make the uſual Preparations for aſcending the St. Lawrence.—Buffalo Skins.—How uſed by Travellers.—Difficulty of proceeding to Lake Ontario otherwiſe than by Water.—Rapids above Montreal.—Village of La Chine.—King's Stores there.—Indian Village on the oppoſite ſide of the River.—Similitude between French Canadians and Indians in Perſon and Diſpoſition of Mind.—Owing to this the Power of the French over the Indians.—Summary View of the Indians in Lower Canada.—The Party embark in a Bateau at La Chine.—Mode of conducting Bateaux againſt a ſtrong Current.—Great Exertion requiſite.—Canadians addicted to ſmoking.—How they meaſure Diſtances.—Deſcription of Lake St. Louis.—

Clouds

Clouds of Infects over Reed Banks.—Party encamps on l'Ifle Perot.—Paffage of Rapids called Les Cafcades.—Their tremendous Appearance.—Defcription of the Village of the Hill of Cedars.—Rapids du Cotteau du Lac.—Wonderful Rapidity of the Current.—Party encamps.—Lake St. Francis.—Point au Baudet.—L'Ifle aux Raifins.—Iflands in the River ftill the Property of the Indians.—Not determined yet whether in the Britifh Territory or that of the States.—Party encamps.—Storm.—Unpleafant Situation of the Party.—Relieved.—Continue the Voyage.—Account of more Rapids.—Canals and Locks at different Places on the River St. Lawrence.—Immenfe Flights of Pigeons.—Emigration of Squirrels and Bears.—Ofwegatchee River and Fort la Galette defcribed.—Advantageous Pofition of the latter.—Current above this gentle.—Bateaux fail on all Night.—Songs of the Canadians.—Good Ear for Mufic.—Lake of a Thoufand Ifles.—Arrival at Kingfton on Lake Ontario.—Obfervations on the Navigation of the St. Lawrence.—The St. Lawrence compared with the Miffiffipi.—A View of the different Rivers which open a Water Communication between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic.—Great Superiority of the St. Lawrence over all the reft.—Of the Lake Trade.

Kingfton, September.

ON arriving at Montreal, our firft concern was to provide a large travelling tent, and fome camp equipage, buffalo fkins *, a ftore of dried provifions, kegs of brandy and wine, &c. &c. and, in fhort, to make every ufual and neceffary preparation for proceeding up the River St. Lawrence. A few days afterwards, we took our paffage for Kingfton, on board a bateau, which, together with twelve others, the commiffary was fending thither for the purpofe of bringing down to Quebec the cannon and ordnance ftores that had been taken from the different mi-

* In the weftern parts of Lower Canada, and throughout Upper Canada, where it is cuftomary for travellers to carry their own bedding with them, thefe fkins are very generally made ufe of for the purpofe of fleeping upon. For upwards of two months we fcarcely ever had any other bed than one of the fkins fpread on the floor and a blanket to each perfon. The fkins are dreffed by the Indians with the hair on, and they are rendered by a certain proceis as pliable as cloth. When the buffalo is killed in the beginning of the winter, at which time he is fenced againft the cold, the hair refembles very much that of a black bear; it is then long, ftraight, and of a blackifh colour; but when the animal is killed in the fummer, the hair is fhort and curly, and of a light brown colour, owing to its being fcorched by the rays of the fun.

litary posts on the lakes, preparatory to their being delivered up to the United States.

On the north-west side of the St. Lawrence, except for about fifty miles or thereabouts, are roads, and also scattered settlements, at no great distance from each other, the whole way between Montreal and Kingston, which is situated at the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario; but no one ever thinks of going thither by land, on account of the numberless inconveniencies such a journey would be attended with; indeed, the difficulty of getting horses across the many deep and rapid rivers falling into the St. Lawrence would in itself be sufficient to deter travellers from proceeding by land to Kingston, supposing even that there were none other to encounter. A water conveyance is by far the most eligible, and except only between Quebec and Montreal, it is the conveyance universally made use of in every part of the country, that is, when people wish merely to follow the course of the rivers, in the neighbourhood of which alone there are any settlements.

The rapids in the St. Lawrence are so very strong just above Montreal, that the bateaux are never laden at the town, but suffered to proceed empty as far as the village of La Chine, which stands on the island of Montreal, about nine miles higher up. The goods are sent, from Montreal, thither in carts.

La Chine is built on a fine gravelly beach, at the head of a little bay at the lower end of Lake St. Louis, which is a broad part of the river St. Lawrence. A smart current sets down the lake, and owing to it there is generally a considerable curl on the surface of the water, even close to the shore, which, with the appearance of the boats and canoes upon it in motion, gives the place a very lively air. The situation of the village is indeed extremely agreeable, and from some of the houses there are most charming views of the lake, and of the country at the opposite side of it. There are very extensive storehouses belonging to the King, and also to the merchants of Montreal. In the former the presents for the Indians are deposited as soon as they arrive from England; and prior to their being sent up the country they are inspected by the commanding officer of the garrison of Montreal and a committee of merchants, who

are bound to make a faithful report to government, whether the preſents are agreeable to the contract, and as good as could be obtained for the price that is paid for them.

In ſight of La Chine, on the oppoſite ſide of the St. Lawrence, ſtands the village of the Cochenonaga Indians, whom I have already had occaſion to mention. The village contains about fifty log houſes and a Roman catholic church, built in the Canadian ſtyle, and ornamented within with pictures, lamps, &c. in ſuch a manner as to attract the eye as forcibly as poſſible. The outward ſhew, and numerous ceremonies of the Roman catholic religion, are particularly ſuited to the capacities of the Indians, and as but very little reſtraint is impoſed upon them by the miſſionaries, more of them become converts to that religion than to any other. The worſhip of the Holy Virgin meets in a very peculiar manner with the approbation of the ſquaws, and they ſing her praiſes with the moſt profound devotion.

In this and all the other Indian villages ſituated in the improved parts of Lower Canada, a great mixture of the blood of whites with that of the aborigines is obſervable in the perſons of the inhabitants; there are alſo conſiderable numbers of the French Canadians living in theſe villages, who have married Indian wives, and have been adopted into the different nations with whom they reſide. Many of the French Canadians bear ſuch a cloſe reſemblance to the Indians, owing to their dark complections, black eyes, and long black hair, that when attired in the ſame habits it is only a perſon intimately acquainted with the features of the Indians that could diſtinguiſh the one race of men from the other. The diſpoſitions of the two people alſo accord together in a very ſtriking manner; both are averſe to a ſettled life, and to regular habits of induſtry; both are fond of roving about, and procuring ſuſtenance by hunting rather than by cultivating the earth; nature ſeems to have implanted in their hearts a reciprocal affection for each other; they aſſociate together, and live on the moſt amicable terms; and to this one circumſtance more than to any other cauſe is to be attributed that wonderful aſcendancy which the French were ever known to have over the Indians, whilſt they had poſſeſſion of Canada. It is very remarkable indeed, that in

the upper country, notwithſtanding that preſents to ſuch a very large amount are diſtributed amongſt the Indians through the hands of the Engliſh inhabitants, and that their natural rights are as much reſpected by them as they poſſibly can be, yet an Indian, even at this day, will always go to the houſe of a poor French farmer in preference to that of an Engliſhman.

The numbers of the Cachenonaga nation, in the village near La Chine, are eſtimated at one hundred and fifty perſons. The other Indian villages, in the civilized parts of Lower Canada, are, one of the Canaſadogas, ſituated near the mouth of the Utawas River; one of the Little Algonquins, near Trois Rivieres; one of the Aberachies, near Trois Rivieres, at the oppoſite ſide of the river; and one of the Hurons, near Quebec; but none of theſe villages are as large as that of the Cachenonagas. The numbers of the Indians in the lower province have diminiſhed very faſt of late years, as they have done in every other part of the continent, where thoſe of the white inhabitants have increaſed; in the whole lower province, at preſent, it is thought that there are not more than twelve hundred of them. Many of theſe Indians are continually loitering about the large towns, in expectation of getting ſpirits or bread, which they are extremely fond of, from the inhabitants. No leſs than two hundred, that had come a great diſtance in canoes, from the lower parts of the river St. Lawrence, were encamped on Point Levi when we viſited Quebec. Theſe Indians, ſqualid and filthy in the extreme, and going about the ſtreets every day in large parties, begging, preſented a moſt melancholy picture of human nature; and indeed, if a traveller never ſaw any of the North American Indians, but the moſt decent of thoſe who are in the habit of frequenting the large towns of Lower Canada, he would not be led to entertain an opinion greatly in their favour. The farther you aſcend up the country, and conſequently the nearer you ſee the Indians to what they were in their original ſtate, before their manners were corrupted by intercourſe with the whites, the more do you find in their character and conduct deſerving of admiration.

It was on the 28th day of Auguſt that we reached La Chine; the next day the "brigade," as it was called, of bateaux was ready, and in the afternoon

afternoon we ſet out on our voyage. Three men are found ſufficient to conduct an empty bateau of about two tons burthen up the St. Lawrence, but if the bateau be laden more are generally allowed. They aſcend the ſtream by means of poles, oars, and ſails. Where the current is very ſtrong, they make uſe of the former, keeping as cloſe as poſſible to the ſhore, in order to avoid the current, and to have the advantage of ſhallow water to pole in. The men ſet their poles altogether at the ſame moment, and all work at the ſame ſide of the bateau; the ſteerſman, however, ſhifts his pole occaſionally from ſide to ſide, in order to keep the veſſel in an even direction. The poles commonly uſed are about eight feet in length, extremely light, and headed with iron. On coming to a deep bay or inlet, the men abandon the poles, take to their oars, and ſtrike if poſſible directly acroſs the mouth of the bay; but in many places the current proves ſo ſtrong that it is abſolutely impoſſible to ſtem it by means of oars, and they are obliged to pole entirely round the bays. Whenever the wind is favourable they ſet their ſail; but it is only at the upper end of the river, beyond the rapids, or on the lakes or broad parts of it, where the current is not ſwift, that the ſail by itſelf is ſufficient to impel them forward.

The exertion it requires to counteract the force of the ſtream by means of poles and oars is ſo great, that the men are obliged to ſtop very frequently to take breath. The places at which they ſtop are regularly aſcertained; ſome of them, where the current is very rapid, are not more than half a mile diſtant one from the other; others one or two, but none of them more than four miles apart. Each of theſe places the boatmen, who are almoſt all French Canadians, denominate "une pipe," becauſe they are allowed to ſtop at it and fill their pipes. A French Canadian is ſcarcely ever without a pipe in his mouth, whether working at the oar or plough; whether on foot, or on horſeback; indeed, ſo much addicted are the people to ſmoking, that by the burning of the tobacco in their pipes they commonly aſcertain the diſtance from one place to another. Such a place, they ſay, is three pipes off, that is, it is ſo far off that you may ſmoke three pipes full of tobacco whilſt you

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go thither. A pipe, in the moſt general acceptation of the word, ſeemed to be about three quarters of an Engliſh mile.

Lake St. Louis, commencing, or rather terminating, at La Chine, for that village ſtands at the lower end of it, is about twelve miles in length and four in breadth. At its uppermoſt extremity it receives a large branch of the Utawas River, and alſo the ſouth-weſt branch of the River St. Lawrence, which by ſome geographers is called the River Cadaraqui, and by others the River Iroquois; but in the country, generally ſpeaking, the whole of that river, running from Lake Ontario to the Gulph of St. Lawrence, goes ſimply under the name of the St. Lawrence.

At the upper end of Lake St. Louis the water is very ſhallow, owing to the banks of mud and ſand waſhed up by the two rivers. Theſe very extenſive banks, are entirely covered with reeds, ſo that when a veſſel ſails over them ſhe appears at a little diſtance to be abſolutely ſailing over dry land. As we paſſed along this part of the lake we were enveloped with clouds of little inſects, different from any I ever ſaw before or afterwards in the country, but they are common, it is ſaid, on various parts of the River St. Lawrence. Their ſize was ſomewhat larger than that of the gnat; their colour a pure white; and ſo delicately were they formed, that by the ſlighteſt touch they were deſtroyed and reduced to powder. They were particularly attracted by any white object, and having once alighted were not to be driven away but by force. The leaves of a book, which I happened to have in my hand, were in a few ſeconds ſo thickly covered by them that it was impoſſible to diſcern a ſingle letter, and no ſooner was one ſwarm of them bruſhed off than a freſh one immediately alighted. Theſe inſects have very broad wings in proportion to their ſize, and fly heavily, ſo that it is only when the air is remarkably calm that they can venture to make their appearance.

About ſunſet on this, the firſt evening of our voyage, we reached the iſland of Perrot, ſituated at the mouth of the Utawas River. This iſland is about fourteen miles in circumference; its ſoil is fertile, and it is well cultivated. There are two conſiderable villages near its center, but towards Point St. Claire, at its lower extremity, the ſettlements

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are but very few. We landed at the point, and pitched our tent in a meadow which ſtood bordering upon the water. Here the bateaux were drawn up, and having been properly ſecured, the different crews, amounting in all to upwards of fifty men, divided themſelves into ſmall parties, and kindled fires along the ſhore, in order to cook their provifions for the ſucceeding day, and to keep themſelves warm during the night. Theſe men, who are engaged in conducting bateaux in Canada, are, as I have before obſerved, a very hardy race: when the weather is fair, they ſleep on the graſs at night, without any other covering than a ſhort blanket, ſcarcely reaching down to their knees; during wet weather a ſail or a blanket to the weather ſide, ſpread on poles ſtuck into the ground in an inclined direction, is all the ſhelter they deem neceſſary. On ſetting out each man is furniſhed with a certain allowance of ſalted pork, biſcuit, peaſe, and brandy; the peaſe and biſcuit they boil with ſome of the pork into porridge, and a large veſſel full of it, is generally kept at the head of the bateau, for the uſe of the crew when they ſtop in the courſe of the day. This porridge, or elſe cold fat ſalted pork, with cucumbers, conſtitutes the principal part of their food. The cucumber is a fruit that the lower claſſes of the French Canadians are extremely fond of; they uſe it however in a very indifferent ſtate, as they never pull it until it has attained a large ſize, and is become yellow and ſeedy. Cucumbers thus mellow, chopped into ſmall pieces without being peeled, and afterwards mixed with ſour cream, is one of their favourite diſhes.

At day break on the ſecond morning of our voyage, we quitted the iſland of Perot, and croſſed the Utawas River, in order to gain the mouth of the ſouth-weſt branch of the St. Lawrence. A tremendous ſcene is here preſented to the view; each river comes ruſhing down into the lake, over immenſe rocks, with an impetuoſity which, ſeemingly, nothing can reſiſt. The waves are as high as what are commonly met with in the Britiſh Channel during a ſmart breeze, and the breakers ſo numerous and dangerous, that one would imagine a bateau could not poſſibly live in the midſt of them; and indeed, unleſs it were navigated by men intimately acquainted with the place, and very expert at the

ſame

ſame time, there would be evident danger of its being filled with water. Several times, as we paſſed through the breakers, the water daſhed over the ſides of our bateau. Tremendous and dangerous, however, as the rapids are at this ſpot, they are much leſs ſo than ſome of thoſe met with higher up the River St. Lawrence.

The water of the Utawas River is remarkably clear, and of a bright greeniſh colour; that of the St. Lawrence, on the contrary, is muddy, owing to its paſſing over deep beds of marl for ſome miles before it enters into Lake St. Louis. For a conſiderable way down the lake the waters of the two rivers may be plainly diſtinguiſhed from each other.

The rapids immediately at the mouth of the ſouth-weſt branch of the St. Lawrence are called "Les Caſcades," or, "Le Saut de Trou." In laden bateaux it is no arduous taſk to ſhoot down them, but it is impoſſible to mount againſt the ſtream even in ſuch as are empty. In order to avoid the laborious taſk therefore of carrying them along the ſhore paſt the rapids, as uſed formerly to be done, a canal with a double lock has been made here at a great expence. This canal extends but a very little way, not more than fifty yards perhaps. Beyond this there is a ſucceſſion of other rapids, the firſt of which, called "Le Saut de Buiſſon" on account of the cloſeneſs of the woods along the ſhores on each ſide, is ſo ſtrong, that in order to paſs it, it is neceſſary to lighten the bateaux very conſiderably. If the cargoes are large, they are wholly taken out at once, and ſent forward in carts to the diſtance of a mile and a half, paſt all the rapids. The men are always obliged here to get out of the bateaux, and haul them along with ropes, it being wholly impracticable to counteract the force of the current by means of poles alone.

The paſſage of theſe rapids is ſo very tedious, that we here quitted the bateaux, took our guns in hand, and proceeded on foot to "Le Coteau des Cedres," the Hill of Cedars, about nine miles higher up the river. In going thither you ſoon loſe ſight of the few ſtraggling houſes at the caſcades, and enter the receſſes of a remarkably thick wood, whoſe ſolemn gloom, together with the loud roaring of the waters at a diſtance, and the wild appearance of every object around you, inſpire the mind with a ſort of pleaſing horror. As you approach "Le Coteau des Cedres," the country

country aſſumes a ſofter aſpect; cultivated fields and neat cottages once more appear in view, and the river, inſtead of being agitated by tremendous rapids, is here ſeen gliding on with an even current between its lofty banks.

The village of the Hill of Cedars contains about thirty houſes, amongſt which we were agreeably ſurpriſed to find a remarkably neat and excellent tavern, kept by an Engliſh woman. We remained here until three in the afternoon, when we again ſet off on foot, partly for the pleaſure of beholding, from the top of the ſteep banks, the many noble and beautiful proſpects laid open before us, and partly for the pleaſure of ſtopping occaſionally to chat with the lively French girls, that, during this delicious ſeaſon of the year, ſat ſpinning in groups at the doors of the cottages. About five o'clock the bateaux overtook us; but after proceeding in them for about two miles, we again landed to eſcape the tedious proceſs of aſcending freſh rapids. Theſe are called the rapids "du Coteau du Lac St. François;" they are ſeveral miles in length, and though not the moſt dangerous, are yet the moſt tremendous to appearance of any in the whole river, the white breakers being diſtinctly viſible at the diſtance of four miles; ſome travellers have gone ſo far as to repreſent them as even more terrible to the beholder than the falls of Niagara, but this is a very exaggerated account. Boats are here carried down with the ſtream at the rate of fourteen or fifteen miles an hour, according to the beſt information I could procure on the ſubject, though the Canadian boatmen and others declare that they are carried down at the rate of twenty miles in the hour. At ſome of the rapids, higher up the river, the current is conſiderably ſwifter than at this place.

In deſcending theſe rapids they paſs through the breakers in the middle of the river, but in going up they keep cloſe in to the ſhore, on the north-weſt ſide, and being here ſheltered by a numerous cluſter of iſlands, which break the force of the current, and having the benefit of a ſhort canal and locks, they get paſt the rapids with leſs difficulty even than they paſs the caſcades. One of the iſlands here, farther removed from the ſhore than the reſt, is called Priſoners Iſland, having been allotted for the reſidence of ſome of the American priſoners during the laſt war.

There were ſome buildings on the iſland at that time, but it has been quite deſerted ſince, on account of the great difficulty of getting to it through the ſtrong rapids. During the war, an officer, who had compelled ſome of the Canadians, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances, to make an attempt to reach the iſland at an improper ſeaſon, periſhed, with a great number of men, in going thither. Of the whole party one alone eſcaped with his life. The St. Lawrence is here about two miles wide.

This evening, the ſecond of our voyage, the bateaux were drawn up for the night at the bottom of "Le Coteau du Lac," the Hill of the Lake, and we pitched our tent on the margin of a wood, at a little diſtance from the river. The next morning we proceeded again on foot for about two miles, when we came to a tavern, where we waited the arrival of the bateaux. The people of this houſe were Engliſh. From hence upwards there are but few French to be met with.

We were detained here nearly half the day in endeavouring to procure a freſh man, one of the conductor's crew having been ſeized with an intermittent fever. At laſt a man from a neighbouring ſettlement made his appearance, and we proceeded on our voyage. We now entered Lake St. François, which is about twenty-five miles in length, and five in breadth; but the wind being unfavourable, we were prevented from proceeding farther upon it than Point au Baudet, at which place the boundary line commences, that ſeparates the upper from the lower province. When the wind comes from the ſouth-weſt, the immenſe body of water in the lake is impelled directly towards this point, and a ſurge breaks in upon the beach, as tremendous as is ſeen on the ſea-ſhore. There was one ſolitary houſe here, which proved to be a tavern, and afforded us a well dreſt ſupper of veniſon, and decent accommodation for the night.

The next day the wind was not more favourable; but as it was conſiderably abated, we were enabled to proſecute our voyage, coaſting along the ſhores of the lake. This was a moſt laborious and tedious buſineſs, on account of the numerous bays and inlets, which the wind was not ſufficiently abated to ſuffer us to croſs at their mouths: notwithſtanding

all the difficulties, however, we had to contend with, we advanced nearly twenty-five miles in the courſe of the day.

At the head of Lake St. François, we landed on a ſmall iſland, called "Iſle aux Raiſins," on account of the number of wild vines growing upon it. The bateaux men gathered great quantities of the grapes, wherewith the trees were loaded, and alſo an abundance of plumbs, which they devoured with great avidity. Neither of the fruits, however, were very tempting to perſons whoſe palates had been accuſtomed to the taſte of garden fruits. The grapes were ſour, and not larger than peas; and as for the plumbs, though much larger in ſize, yet their taſte did not differ materially from that of ſloes.

Beyond L'Iſle aux Raiſins, in the narrow part of the river, there are ſeveral other iſlands, the largeſt of which called L'iſle St. Regis, is near ten miles in length. All theſe iſlands ſtill continue in the poſſeſſion of the Indians, and many of them, being ſituated as nearly as poſſible in the middle of the river, which here divides the Britiſh territory from that of the United States, it yet remains to be determined of what territory they form a part. It is ſincerely to be deſired that this matter may be adjuſted amicably in due time. A ſerious altercation has already taken place about an iſland ſimilarly ſituated in Detroit River, that will be more particularly mentioned hereafter. The Indians not only retain poſſeſſion of theſe different iſlands, but likewiſe of the whole of the ſouth-eaſt ſhore of the St. Lawrence, ſituated within the bounds of the United States; they likewiſe have conſiderable ſtrips of land on the oppoſite ſhore, within the Britiſh dominions, bordering upon the river; theſe they have reſerved to themſelves for hunting. The Iroquois Indians have a village upon the Iſle of St. Regis, and another alſo upon the main land, on the ſouth-eaſt ſhore; as we paſſed it, ſeveral of the inhabitants put off in canoes, and exchanged unripe heads * of Indian corn with the men for bread; they alſo brought with them ſome very fine wild duck and fiſh, which they diſpoſed of to us on very moderate terms.

* The heads of Indian corn, before they become hard, are eſteemed a great delicacy, the moſt approved method of dreſſing, is to parboil, and afterwards roaſt them.

On the fourth night of our voyage we encamped, as uſual, on the main land oppoſite the iſland of St. Regis; and the excellent viands we had procured from the Indians having been cooked, we ſet down to ſupper before a large fire, materials for which are never wanting in this woody country. The night was uncommonly ſerene, and we were induced to remain until a late hour in front of our tent, talking of the various occurrences in the courſe of the day; but we had ſcarcely retired to reſt, when the ſky became overcaſt, a dreadful ſtorm aroſe, and by day-break the next morning we found ourſelves, and every thing belonging to us, drenched with rain. Our ſituation now was by no means agreeable; torrents ſtill came pouring down; neither our tent nor the woods afforded us any ſhelter, and the wind being very ſtrong, and as adverſe as it could blow, there was no proſpect of our being enabled ſpeedily to get into better quarters. In this ſtate we had remained for a conſiderable time, when one of the party, who had been rambling about in order to diſcover what ſort of a neighbourhood we were in, returned with the pleaſing intelligence that there was a houſe at no great diſtance, and that the owner had politely invited us to it. It was the houſe of an old provincial officer, who had received a grant of land in this part of the country for his paſt ſervices. We gladly proceeded to it, and met with a moſt cordial welcome from the captain and his fair daughters, who had provided a plenteous breakfaſt, and ſpared no pains to make their habitation, during our ſtay, as pleaſing to us as poſſible. We felt great ſatisfaction at the idea, that it would be in our power to ſpend the remainder of the day with theſe worthy and hoſpitable people; but alas, we had all formed an erroneous opinion of the weather; the wind ſuddenly veered about; the ſun broke through the thick clouds; the conductor gave the parting order; and in a few minutes we found ourſelves once more ſeated in our bateau.

From hence upwards, for the diſtance of forty miles, the current of the river is extremely ſtrong, and numberleſs rapids are to be encountered, which, though not ſo tremendous to appearance as thoſe at the Caſcades, and "Le Coteau du Lac," are yet both more dangerous and more difficult to paſs. The great danger, however, conſiſts in going down them; it

it arifes from the fhallownefs of the water and the great number of fharp rocks, in the midft of which the veffels are hurried along with fuch impetuofity, that if they unfortunately get into a wrong channel, nothing can fave them from being dafhed to pieces; but fo intimately are the people ufually employed on this river acquainted with the different channels, that an accident of the fort is fcarcely ever heard of. "Le Long Saut," the Long Fall or Rapid, fituated about thirty miles above Lake St. Francis, is the moft dangerous of any one in the river, and fo difficult a matter is it to pafs it, that it requires no lefs than fix men on fhore to haul a fingle bateau againft the current. There is a third canal with locks at this place, in order to avoid a point, which it would be wholly impracticable to weather in the ordinary way. Thefe different canals and locks have been made at the expence of government, and the profits arifing from the tolls paid by every bateau that paffes through them are placed in the public treafury. At thefe rapids, and at feveral of the others, there are very extenfive flour and faw mills.

On the fifth night we arrived at a fmall farm houfe, at the top of the "Long Saut," wet from head to foot, in confequence of our having been obliged to walk paft the rapids through woods and bufhes ftill dripping after the heavy rain that had fallen in the morning. The woods in this neighbourhood are far more majeftic than on any other part of the St. Lawrence; the pines in particular are uncommonly tall, and feem to wave their tops in the very clouds. In Canada, pines grow on the richeft foils; but in the United States they grow moftly on poor ground: a tract of land covered folely with pines is there generally denominated "a pine barren," on account of its great poverty.

During a confiderable part of the next day, we alfo proceeded on foot, in order to efcape the tedious paffage up the "Rapide Plat," and fome of the other dangerous rapids in this part of the river. As we paffed along, we had excellent diverfion in fhooting pigeons, feveral large flights of which we met with in the woods. The wild pigeons of Canada are not unlike the common Engliſh wood pigeons, except that they are of a much fmaller fize: their flefh is very well flavoured. During particular years, thefe birds come down from the northern regions in flights

that

that it is marvellous to tell of. A gentleman of the town of Niagara aſſured me, that once as he was embarking there on board ſhip for Toranto, a flight of them was obſerved coming from that quarter; that as he ſailed over Lake Ontario to Toronto, forty miles diſtant from Niagara, pigeons were ſeen flying over head the whole way in a contrary direction to that in which the ſhip proceeded; and that on arriving at the place of his deſtination, the birds were ſtill obſerved coming down from the north in as large bodies as had been noticed at any one time during the whole voyage; ſuppoſing, therefore, that the pigeons moved no faſter than the veſſel, the flight, according to this gentleman's account, muſt at leaſt have extended eighty miles. Many perſons may think this ſtory ſurpaſſing belief; for my own part, however, I do not heſitate to give credit to it, knowing, as I do, the reſpectability of the gentleman who related it, and the accuracy of his obſervation. When theſe birds appear in ſuch great numbers, they often light on the borders of rivers and lakes, and in the neighbourhood of farm houſes, at which time they are ſo unwary that a man with a ſhort ſtick might eaſily knock them down by hundreds. It is not oftener than once in ſeven or eight years, perhaps, that ſuch large flocks of theſe birds are ſeen in the country. The years in which they appear are denominated "pigeon years."

There are alſo "bear years" and "ſquirrel years." This was both a bear and a ſquirrel year. The former, like the pigeons, came down from the northern regions, and were moſt numerous in the neighbourhood of lakes Ontario and Erie, and along the upper parts of the River St. Lawrence. On arriving at the borders of theſe lakes, or of the river, if the oppoſite ſhore was in ſight, they generally took to the water, and endeavoured to reach it by ſwimming. Prodigious numbers of them were killed in croſſing the St. Lawrence by the Indians, who had hunting encampments, at ſhort diſtances from each other, the whole way along the banks of the river, from the iſland of St. Regis to Lake Ontario. One bear, of a very large ſize, boldly entered the river in the face of our bateaux, and was killed by ſome of our men whilſt ſwimming from the main land to one of the iſlands. In the woods it is very rare that bears will venture to attack a man, but ſeveral inſtances

ſtances that had recently occurred were mentioned to us, where they had attacked a ſingle man in a canoe whilſt ſwimming, and ſo very ſtrong are they in the water, that the men thus ſet upon, being unarmed, eſcape narrowly with their lives.

The ſquirrels, this year, contrary to the bears, migrated from the ſouth, from the territory of the United States. Like the bears, they took to the water on arriving at it, but as if conſcious of their inability to croſs a very wide piece of water, they bent their courſe towards Niagara River, above the falls, and at its narroweſt and moſt tranquil part croſſed over into the Britiſh territory. It was calculated, that upwards of fifty thouſand of them croſſed the river in the courſe of two or three days, and ſuch great depredations did they commit on arriving at the ſettlements on the oppoſite ſide, that in one part of the country the farmers deemed themſelves very fortunate where they got in as much as one third of their crops of corn. Theſe ſquirrels were all of the black kind, ſaid to be peculiar to the continent of America; they are in ſhape ſimilar to the common grey ſquirrel, and weigh from about one to two pounds and a half each. Some writers have aſſerted, that theſe animals cannot ſwim, but that when they come to a river, in migrating, each one provides itſelf with a piece of wood or bark, upon which, when a favourable wind offers, they embark, ſpread their buſhy tails to catch the wind, and are thus wafted over to the oppoſite ſide. Whether theſe animals do or do not croſs in this manner ſometimes, I cannot take upon me to ſay; but I can ſafely affirm, that they do not always croſs ſo, as I have frequently ſhot them in the water whilſt ſwimming: no animals ſwim better, and when purſued, I have ſeen them eagerly take to the water. Whilſt ſwimming, their tail is uſeful to them by way of rudder, and they uſe it with great dexterity; owing to its being ſo light and buſhy, the greater part of it floats upon the water, and thus helps to ſupport the animal. The migration of any of theſe animals in ſuch large numbers is ſaid to be an infallible ſign of a ſevere winter.*

* In the preſent inſtance it certainly was ſo, for the enſuing winter proved to be the ſevereſt that had been known in North America for ſeveral years.

On

On the ſixth evening of our voyage we ſtopped nearly oppoſite to Point aux Iroquois, ſo named from a French family having been cruelly maſſacred there by the Iroquois Indians in the early ages of the colony. The ground being ſtill extremely wet here, in conſequence of the heavy rain of the preceding day, we did not much reliſh the thoughts of paſſing the night in our tent; yet there ſeemed to be no alternative, as the only houſe in ſight was crowded with people, and not capable of affording us any accommodations. Luckily, however, as we were ſearching about for the drieſt ſpot to pitch our tent upon, one of the party eſpied a barn at a little diſtance, belonging to the man of the adjoining houſe, of whom we procured the key; it was well ſtored with ſtraw, and having mounted to the top of the mow, we laid ourſelves down to reſt, and ſlept ſoundly there till awakened in the morning by the crowing of ſome cocks, that were perched on the beams above our head.

At an early hour we purſued our voyage, and before noon paſſed the laſt rapid, about three miles below the mouth of Oſwegatchee River, the moſt conſiderable of thoſe within the territory of the United States, which fall into the St. Lawrence. It conſiſts of three branches, that unite together about fifteen miles above its mouth, the moſt weſtern of which iſſues from a lake twenty miles in length and eight in breadth. Another of the branches iſſues from a ſmall lake or pond, only about four miles diſtant from the weſtern branch of Hudſon's River, that flows paſt New York. Both the Hudſon and Oſwegatchee are ſaid to be capable of being made navigable for light bateaux as far as this ſpot, where they approach within ſo ſhort a diſtance of each other, except only at a few places, ſo that the portages will be but very trifling. This however is a mere conjecture, for Oſwegatchee River is but very imperfectly known, the country it paſſes through being quite uninhabited; but ſhould it be found, at a future period, that theſe rivers are indeed capable of being rendered navigable ſo far up the country, it will probably be through this channel that the chief part of the trade that there may happen to be between New York and the country bordering upon Lake Ontario will be carried on. It is at preſent carried on between that city and the lake by means of Hudſon River,

River, as far as Albany, and from thence by means of the Mohawks River, Wood Creek, Lake Oneida, and Oſwego River, which falls into Lake Ontario. The harbour at the mouth of Oſwego River is very bad on account of the ſand banks; none but flat bottomed veſſels can approach with ſafety nearer to it than two miles; nor is there any good harbour on the ſouth ſide of Lake Ontario in the neighbourhood of any large rivers. Sharp built veſſels, however, of a conſiderable ſize, can approach with ſafety to the mouth of Oſwegatchee River. The Seneca, a Britiſh veſſel of war of twenty-ſix guns, uſed formerly to ply conſtantly between Fort de la Galette, ſituated at the mouth of that river, and the fort at Niagara; and the Britiſh fur ſhips on the lakes uſed alſo, at that time, to diſcharge the cargoes there, brought down from the upper country. As therefore the harbour at the mouth of Oſwegatchee is ſo much better than that at the mouth of Oſwego River, and as they are nearly an equal diſtance from New York, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that if the river navigation ſhould prove equally good, the trade between the lakes and New York will be for the moſt part, if not wholly, carried on by means of Oſwegatchee rather than of Oſwego River. With a fair wind, the paſſage from Oſwegatchee River to Niagara is accompliſhed in two days; a voyage only one day longer than that from Oſwego to Niagara with a fair wind.

Fort de la Galette was erected by the French, and though not built till long after Fort Cataraguis or Frontignac, now Kingſton, yet they eſteemed it by far the moſt important military poſt on the St. Lawrence, in the upper country, as it was impoſſible for any boat or veſſel to paſs up or down that river without being obſerved, whereas they might eaſily eſcape unſeen behind the many iſlands oppoſite to Kingſton. Since the cloſe of the American war, Fort de la Galette has been diſmantled, as it was within the territory of the United States; nor would any advantage have ariſen from its retention; for it was never of any importance to us but as a trading poſt, and as ſuch Kingſton, which is within our own territory, is far more eligibly ſituated in every point of view; it has a more ſafe and commodious harbour, and the fur ſhips coming down from Niagara, by ſtopping there, are ſaved a voyage of

ſixty miles up and down the St. Lawrence, which was oftentimes found to be more tedious than the voyage from Niagara to Kingſton.

In the neighbourhood of La Galette, on the Oſwegatchee River, there is a village of the Oſwegatchee Indians, whoſe numbers are eſtimated at one hundred warriors.

The current of the St. Lawrence, from Oſwegatchee upwards, is much more gentle than in any other part between Montreal and Lake Ontario, except only where the river is conſiderably dilated, as at lakes St. Louis and St. François; however, notwithſtanding its being ſo gentle, we did not advance more than twenty-five miles in the courſe of the day, owing to the numerous ſtops that we made, more from motives of pleaſure than neceſſity. The evening was uncommonly fine, and towards ſun-ſet a briſk gale ſpringing up, the conductor judged it adviſable to take advantage of it, and to continue the voyage all night, in order to make up for the time we had loſt during the day. We accordingly proceeded, but towards midnight the wind died away; this circumſtance, however, did not alter the determination of the conductor. The men were ordered to the oars, and notwithſtanding that they had laboured hard during the preceding day, and had had no reſt, yet they were kept cloſely at work until day-break, except for one hour, during which they were allowed to ſtop to cook their proviſions. Where there is a gentle current, as in this part of the river, the Canadians will work at the oar for many hours without intermiſſion; they ſeemed to think it no hardſhip to be kept employed in this inſtance the whole night; on the contrary, they plied as vigorouſly as if they had but juſt ſet out, ſinging merrily the whole time. The French Canadians have in general a good ear for muſic, and ſing duets with tolerable accuracy. They have one very favourite duet amongſt them, called the "rowing "duet," which as they ſing they mark time to with each ſtroke of the oar; indeed, when rowing in ſmooth water, they mark the time of moſt of the airs they ſing in the ſame manner.

About eight o'clock the next, and eighth morning of our voyage, we entered the laſt lake before you come to that of Ontario, called the Lake of a Thouſand Iſlands, on account of the multiplicity of them which it contains.

contains. Many of these islands are scarcely larger than a bateau, and none of them, except such as are situated at the upper and lower extremities of the lake, appeared to me to contain more than fifteen English acres each. They are all covered with wood, even to the very smallest. The trees on these last are stunted in their growth, but the larger islands produce as fine timber as is to be found on the main shores of the lake. Many of these islands are situated so closely together, that it would be easy to throw a pebble from one to the other, notwithstanding which circumstance, the passage between them is perfectly safe and commodious for bateaux, and between some of them that are even thus close to each other, is water sufficient for a frigate. The water is uncommonly clear, as it is in every part of the river, from Lake St. Francis upwards: between that lake and the Utawas River downwards it is discoloured, as I have before observed, by passing over beds of marl. The shores of all these islands under our notice are rocky; most of them rise very boldly, and some exhibit perpendicular masses of rock towards the water upwards of twenty feet high. The scenery presented to view in sailing between these islands is beautiful in the highest degree. Sometimes, after passing through a narrow strait, you find yourself in a bason, land locked on every side, that appears to have no communication with the lake, except by the passage through which you entered; you are looking about, perhaps, for an outlet to enable you to proceed, thinking at last to see some little channel which will just admit your bateau, when on a sudden an expanded sheet of water opens upon you, whose boundary is the horizon alone; again in a few minutes you find yourself land locked, and again a spacious passage as suddenly presents itself; at other times, when in the middle of one of these basons, between a cluster of islands, a dozen different channels, like so many noble rivers, meet the eye, perhaps equally unexpectedly, and on each side the islands appear regularly retiring till they sink from the sight in the distance. Every minute, during the passage of this lake, the prospect varies. The numerous Indian hunting encampments on the different islands, with the smoke of their fires rising up between the trees, added considerably to the beauty of the scenery as we passed it. The Lake of a Thousand Islands is twenty-five miles in

length, and about ſix in breadth. From its upper end to Kingſton, at which place we arrived early in the evening, the diſtance is fifteen miles.

The length of time required to aſcend the River St. Lawrence, from Montreal to Kingſton, is commonly found to be about ſeven days. If the wind ſhould be ſtrong and very favourable, the paſſage may be performed in a leſs time; but ſhould it, on the contrary, be adverſe, and blow very ſtrong, the paſſage will be protracted ſomewhat longer; an adverſe or favourable wind, however, ſeldom makes a difference of more than three days in the length of the paſſage upwards, as in each caſe it is neceſſary to work the bateaux along by means of poles for the greater part of the way. The paſſage downwards is performed in two or three days, according to the wind. The current is ſo ſtrong, that a contrary wind ſeldom lengthens the paſſage in that direction more than a day.

The Miſſiſſippi is the only river in North America, which, for grandeur and commodiouſneſs of navigation, comes in competition with the St. Lawrence, or with that river which runs from Lake Ontario to the ocean. If, however, we conſider that immenſe body of water that flows from Lake Winnipeg through the Lake of the Woods, Lake Superior, &c. down to the ſea, as one entire ſtream, and of courſe as a continuation of the St. Lawrence, it muſt be allowed to be a very ſuperior river to the Miſſiſſippi in every point of view; and we may certainly conſider it as one ſtream, with as much reaſon as we look upon that as one river which flows from Lake Ontario to the ſea; for before it meets the ocean it paſſes through four large lakes, not indeed to be compared with thoſe of Erie or Superior, in ſize, but they are independent lakes notwithſtanding, as much as any of the others. The Miſſiſſippi is principally to be admired for the evenneſs of its current, and the prodigious length of way it is navigable, without any interruption, for bateaux of a very large burthen; but in many reſpects it is a very inferior river to the St. Lawrence, properly ſo called. The Miſſiſſippi at its mouth is not twenty miles broad, and the navigation is there ſo obſtructed by banks or bars, that a veſſel drawing more than twelve feet water cannot aſcend it without

out very imminent danger. Theſe bars at its mouth or mouths, for it is divided by ſeveral iſlands, are formed by large quantities of trees that come drifting down from the upper country, and when once ſtopped by any obſtacle, are quickly cemented together by the mud, depoſited between the branches by the waters of the river, which are uncommonly foul and muddy. Freſh bars are formed, or the old bars are enlarged every year, and it is ſaid, that unleſs ſome ſteps are taken to prevent the lodgments of the trees annually brought down at the time of the inundation, the navigation may in a few years be ſtill more obſtructed than it is at preſent. It is notorious, that ſince the river was firſt diſcovered, ſeveral iſlands and points have been formed near its mouth, and the different channels have undergone very material alterations for the worſe, as to their courſes and depths. The River St. Lawrence, however, on the contrary, is no leſs than ninety miles wide at its mouth, and it is navigable for ſhips of the line as far as Quebec, a diſtance of four hundred miles from the ſea. The channel alſo, inſtead of having been impaired by time, is found to be conſiderably better now than when the river was firſt diſcovered; and there is reaſon to imagine that it will improve ſtill more in proceſs of time, as the clear water that flows from Lake Ontario comes down with ſuch impetuoſity, during the floods in the ſpring of the year, as frequently to remove banks of gravel and looſe ſtones in the river, and thus to deepen its bed. The channel on the north ſide of the iſland of Orleans, immediately below Quebec, which, according to the account of Le P. de Charlevoix, was not ſufficiently deep in the year 1720 to admit a ſhallop of a ſmall ſize, except at the time of high tides, is at preſent found to be deep enough for the largeſt veſſels, and is the channel moſt generally uſed.

The following table ſhews for what veſſels the St. Lawrence is navigable in different places; and alſo points out the various breadths of the river from its mouth upwards:

Names of Places.	Diſtances in miles aſcending.	Breadth in miles.	
At its mouth		90	
At Cape Cat	140	30	
At Saguenay River	120	18	
At the lower extremity of the Iſle of Orleans	110	15	This iſland is 25 miles in length and 6 in breadth, the river on each ſide is about 2 miles wide.
At the baſon between the Iſle of Orleans and Quebec	30	5	Thus far, 400 miles from its mouth, it is navigable for ſhips of the line with ſafety.
From Quebec to Lake St. Pierre	90		
Lake St. Pierre	30	14	
To La Valterie	10	1	
To Montreal	30	2 to 4	To this place, 560 miles, it is navigable with perfect ſafety for ſhips drawing 14 feet water. Veſſels of a much larger draught have proceeded many miles above Quebec, but the channel is very intricate and dangerous.
To Lake St. Louis	6	—¼	
Lake St. Louis	12	4	
To Lake St. Francis	25	½ to 2	
Lake St. Francis	20	5	
To the Lake of a Thouſand Iſles	90	½ to 1	
Lake of a Thouſand Iſles	25	6	
To Kingſton, on Lake Ontario	15	2½ to 6	
	743		

During the whole of its courſe the St. Lawrence is navigable for bateaux of two tons burthen, except merely at the rapids above Montreal, at the Fall of the Thicket, and at the Long Fall, where, as has been already pointed out, it is neceſſary to lighten the bateaux, if heavily laden. At each of theſe places, however, it is poſſible to conſtruct canals, ſo as to

prevent the trouble of unlading any part of the cargoes of the bateaux, and at a future day, when the country becomes rich, ſuch canals no doubt will be made.

Although the lakes are not immediately connected with the Atlantic Ocean by any other river than the St. Lawrence, yet there are ſeveral ſtreams that fall into the Atlantic, ſo nearly connected with others flowing into the lakes, that by their means trade may be carried on between the ocean and the lakes. The principal channels for trade between the ocean and the lakes are four in number; the firſt, along the Miſſiſſippi and the Ohio, and thence up the Wabaſh, Miami, Muſhingun, or the Alleghany rivers, from the head of which there are portages of from one to eighteen miles to rivers that fall into Lake Erie; ſecondly, along the Patowmac River, which flows paſt Waſhington, and from thence along Cheat River, the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers and French Creek to Preſqu' Ile on Lake Erie; thirdly, along Hudſon's River, which falls into the Atlantic at New York, and afterwards along the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, Lake Oneida, and Oſwego River, which laſt falls into Lake Ontario; fourthly, along the St. Lawrence.

The following is a ſtatement of the entire length of each of theſe channels or routes, and of the lengths of the portages in each, reckoning from the higheſt ſeaport on each river that will receive veſſels of a ſuitable ſize for croſſing the Atlantic to Lake Erie, which is the moſt central of the lakes to the four ports:

	Length of Way in Miles.	Length of the Portages.	
From Montreal - - - -	440 - -	22	
From Waſhington - - -	450 - -	80	When the navigation is opened, this will be reduced, it is ſaid, to 50 miles.
From New York - - -	500 - -	30	
From New Orleans - -	1,800 -	1 to 18	According to the route followed from the Ohio to the Lake.

From

From this ſtatement it not only appears evident that the St. Lawrence opens a ſhorter paſſage to the lakes than any of the other rivers, but alſo that the portages are ſhorter than in any of the other routes; the portages are alſo fewer, and goods may be tranſported in the ſame boats the whole way from Montreal to the lakes; whereas in conveying goods th ther either from Waſhington or New York, it is neceſſary to employ different boats and men on each different river, or elſe to tranſport the boats themſelves on carriages over the portages from one river to another. It is always an object of importance to avoid a portage, as by every change in the mode of conveyance the expence of carriage is increaſed, and there is an additional riſk of pillage from the goods paſſing through the hands of a greater number of people. Independent of theſe conſiderations, the St. Lawrence will, on another account, be found a more commodious channel than any other for the carrying on of trade between the ocean and the lakes. Conſtantly ſupplied from that immenſe reſervoir of water, Lake Ontario, it is never ſo low, even in the drieſt ſeaſon, as not to be ſufficiently deep to float laden bateaux. The ſmall ſtreams, on the contrary, which connect Hudſon's River, the Patowmac, and the Miſſiſſippi with the lakes, are frequently ſo dried up in ſummer time, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to paſs along them in canoes. For upwards of four months in the ſummer of 1796, the Mohawk River was ſo low, that it was totally impracticable to tranſport merchandize along it during the greater part of its courſe, and the traders in the back country, after waiting for a length of time for the goods they wanted, were under the neceſſity at laſt of having them forwarded by land carriage. The navigation of this river, it is ſaid, becomes worſe every year, and unleſs ſeveral long canals are cut, there will be an end to the water communication between New York and Lake Ontario by that route. The Alleghany River and French Creek, which connect the Patowmac with Lake Erie, are equally affected by droughts; indeed it is only during floods, occaſioned by the melting of the ſnow, or by heavy falls of rain, that goods can be tranſported with eaſe either by the one route or the other.

By far the greater part of the trade to the lakes is at preſent centered at Montreal; for the Britiſh merchants not only can convey their goods from

from thence to the lakes for one third leſs than what it coſts to convey the ſame goods thither from New York, but they can likewiſe afford to ſell them, in the firſt inſtance, conſiderably cheaper than the merchants of the United States. The duties paid on the importation into Canada of refined ſugar, ſpirits, wine, and coffee, are conſiderably leſs than thoſe paid on the importation of the ſame commodities into the United States; and all Britiſh hardware, and dry goods in general, are admitted duty free into Canada, whereas, in the United States, they are chargeable, on importation from Europe, with a duty of fifteen per cent. on the value. To attempt to levy duties on foreign manufactures ſent into the ſtates from Canada would be an idle attempt, as from the great extent of their frontier, and its contiguity to Canada, it would at all times be an eaſy matter to ſend the goods clandeſtinely into them, in order to avoid the duties.

The trade carried on from Montreal to the lakes is at preſent very conſiderable, and increaſing every year. Already are there extenſive ſettlements on the Britiſh ſide of Lake Ontario, at Niagara, at Toronto, at the Bay of Canti, and at Kingſton, which contain nearly twenty thouſand inhabitants; and on the oppoſite ſhore, the people of the ſtates are puſhing forward their ſettlements with the utmoſt vigour. On Lake Erie, and along Detroit River alſo, the ſettlements are increaſing with aſtoniſhing rapidity, both on the Britiſh and on the oppoſite ſide.

The importance of the back country trade, and the trade to the lakes is in fact the back country trade, has already been demonſtrated; and it has been ſhewn, that every ſea-port town in the United States has increaſed in ſize in proportion to the quantum it enjoyed of this trade; and that thoſe towns moſt conveniently ſituated for carrying it on, were thoſe that had the greateſt ſhare of it; as, therefore, the ſhores of the lake increaſe in population, and of courſe as the demand for European manufactures increaſes amongſt the inhabitants, we may expect to ſee Montreal, which of all the ſea-ports in North America is the moſt con-

veniently ſituated for ſupplying them with ſuch manufactures, increaſe proportionably in ſize; and as the extent of back country it is connected with, by means of water, is as great, and alſo as fertile as that with which any of the large towns of the United States are connected, it is not improbable but that Montreal at a future day will rival in wealth and in ſize the greateſt of the cities on the continent of North America.

LETTER XXX.

Description of the Town of Kingston.—Formerly called Fort Cadaraqua.—Extensive Trade carried on here.—Nature of it.—Inhabitants very hospitable.—Harbours on Lake Ontario.—Ships of War on that Lake.—Merchant Vessels.—Naval Officers.—Expence of building and keeping up Vessels very great.—Why.—No Iron Mines yet opened in the Country.—Copper may be more easily procured than Iron.—Found in great Quantities on the Borders of Lake Superior.—Embark in a Trading Vessel on Lake Ontario.—Description of that Lake.—A Septennial Change in the Height of the Waters said to be observable—also a Tide that ebbs and flows every Two Hours.—Observations on these Phenomena.—Voyage across the Lake similar to a Sea Voyage.—Come in Sight of Niagara Fort.—Land at Mississaguis Point.—Mississaguis Indians.—One of their Chiefs killed in an Affray.—How treated by the British Government.—Their revengeful Disposition.—Mississaguis good Hunters.—How they kill Salmon.—Variety of Fish in the Lakes and Rivers of Canada.—Sea Wolves.—Sea Cows.—Description of the Town of Niagara or Newark.—The present Seat of Government.—Scheme of removing it elsewhere.—Unhealthiness of the Town of Niagara and adjacent Country.—Navy Hats.—Fort of Niagara surrendered pursuant to Treaty.—Description of it.—Description of the other Forts surrendered to the People of the United States.—Shewn not to be so advantageous to them as was expected.—Superior Position of the new British Posts pointed out.

Niagara, September.

KINGSTON is situated at the mouth of a deep bay, at the north eastern extremity of Lake Ontario. It contains a fort and barracks, an English episcopalian church, and about one hundred houses, the most of which last were built, and are now inhabited by persons who emigrated from the United States at the close of the American war. Some few of the houses are built of stone and brick, but by far the greater part of them are of wood. The fort is of stone, and consists of a square with

four baſtions. It was erected by M. le Comte de Frontinac, as early as the year 1672, and was for a time called after him; but inſenſibly it loſt his name, and received inſtead of it that of Cadaraqui, the name of a creek which falls into the bay. This name remained common to the fort and to the town until a few years ago, when it was changed to that of Kingſton. From ſixty to one hundred men are uſually quartered in the barracks.

Kingſton is a place of very conſiderable trade, and it is conſequently increaſing moſt rapidly in ſize. All the goods brought up the St. Lawrence for the ſupply of the upper country are here depoſited in ſtores, preparatory to their being ſhipped on board veſſels ſuitable to the navigation of the lake; and the furs from the various poſts on the nearer lakes are here likewiſe collected together, in order to be laden on board bateaux, and ſent down the St. Lawrence. Some furs are brought in immediately to the town by the Indians, who hunt in the neighbouring country, and along the upper parts of the St. Lawrence, but the quantity is not large. The principal merchants reſident at Kingſton are partners of old eſtabliſhed houſes at Montreal and Quebec. A ſtranger, eſpecially if a Britiſh ſubject, is ſure to meet with a moſt hoſpitable and friendly reception from them, as he paſſes through the place.

During the autumn the inhabitants of Kingſton ſuffer very much from intermittent fevers, owing to the town being ſituated on a low ſpot of ground, contiguous to an extenſive moraſs.

The bay adjoining to Kingſton affords good anchorage, and is the ſafeſt and moſt commodious harbour on all Lake Ontario. The bay of Great Sodus, on the ſouth ſide of the lake, and that of Toronto, ſituated on the north ſide of the lake, nearly in the ſame meridian with Niagara, are ſaid to be the next beſt to that of Kingſton; but the entrance into each of them is obſtructed by ſand banks, which in rough weather cannot be croſſed without imminent danger in veſſels drawing more than five or ſix feet water. On the borders of the bay at Kingſton there is a King's dock yard, and another which is private property. Moſt of the Britiſh veſſels of burthen on Lake Ontario have been built at theſe yards. Belonging

ing to his Majeſty there were on Lake Ontario, when we croſſed it, three veſſels of about two hundred tons each, carrying from eight to twelve guns, beſides ſeveral gun boats; the laſt, however, were not in commiſſion, but laid up in Niagara River; and in conſequence of the ratification of the treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and his Britannic Majeſty, orders were iſſued, ſhortly after we left Kingſton, for laying up the other veſſels of war, one alone excepted *. For one King's ſhip there would be ample employment on the lake, in conveying to the upper country the preſents for the Indians and the ſtores for the troops, and in tranſporting the troops acroſs the lake when they changed quarters. Every military officer at the outpoſts enjoys the privilege of having a certain bulk, according to his rank, carried for him in the King's veſſels, free of all charges. The naval officers, if their veſſels be not otherwiſe engaged, are allowed to carry a cargo of merchandize when they ſail from one port to another, the freight of which is their perquiſite; they likewiſe have the liberty, and are conſtantly in the practice, of carrying paſſengers acroſs the lake at an eſtabliſhed price. The commodore of the King's veſſels on Lake Ontario is a French Canadian, and ſo likewiſe are moſt of the officers under him. Their uniform is blue and white, with large yellow buttons, ſtamped with the figure of a beaver, over which is inſcribed the word, "Canada." The naval officers are under the controul of the military officer commandant, at every poſt where their veſſels happen to touch; and they cannot leave their veſſels to go up into the country at any time without his permiſſion.

Several decked merchant veſſels, ſchooners, and ſloops, of from fifty to two hundred tons each, and alſo numberleſs large ſailing bateaux, are kept employed on Lake Ontario. No veſſels are deemed proper for the navigation of theſe lakes but complete ſea boats, or elſe flat bottomed veſſels, ſuch as canoes and bateaux, that can ſafely run aſhore on an emergency. At preſent the people of the United States have no other veſſels than bateaux on the lake, and whether they will deem it proper

* Subſequent orders, it was ſaid, were iſſued, during the ſummer of 1797, to have one or more of theſe veſſels put again in commiſſion.

to

to have larger veſſels, as their harbours are all ſo indifferent, remains yet to be determined. The large Britiſh veſſels ply moſtly between Kingſton and Niagara, and but very rarely touch at any other place.

The expence of building, and equipping veſſels on Lake Ontario, is very conſiderable; and it is ſtill greater on the more diſtant lakes, as the larger part of the iron implements, and all the cordage wanted for that purpoſe, are imported from Great Britain, through the medium of the lower province. There can be no doubt, however, but that when the country is become more populous, an ample ſupply of theſe neceſſary articles will be readily procured on the ſpot; for the ſoil of the upper province is well adapted to the growth of hemp, and iron ore has been diſcovered in many parts of the country. Hemp already begins to be cultivated in ſmall quantities; but it has hitherto been the policy of government to direct the attention of the people to agriculture, rather than to any other purſuit, ſo that none of the iron mines, which, together with all other mines that are, or that may hereafter be diſcovered, are the excluſive property of the crown, have yet been opened. The people of the United States, however, alive to every proſpect of gain, have already ſent perſons to look for iron ore in that part of their territory ſituated conveniently to the lakes. Theſe perſons have been very ſucceſsful in their ſearches, and as works will undoubtedly be eſtabliſhed ſpeedily by them in this quarter for the manufacture of iron, and as they will be able to afford it on much better terms than that which is brought all the way from Lower Canada, it is probable that government will encourage the opening of mines in our own dominions, rather than ſuffer the people of the States to enjoy ſuch a very lucrative branch of trade as they muſt neceſſarily have, if the ſame policy is perſiſted in which has hitherto been purſued.

Copper, in the more remote parts of Upper Canada, is found in much greater abundance than iron, and as it may be extracted from the earth with conſiderably leſs trouble than any of the iron ore that has yet been diſcovered, there is reaſon to imagine, that at a future day it will be much more uſed than iron for every purpoſe to which it can be applied. On the borders of a river, which falls into the ſouth-weſt ſide of Lake

Superior, virgin copper is found in the greateſt abundance; and on moſt of the iſlands on the eaſtern ſide it is alſo found. In the poſſeſſion of a gentleman at Niagara I ſaw a lump of virgin copper of ſeveral ounces weight, apparently as pure as if it had paſſed through fire, which I was informed had been ſtruck off with a chiſel from a piece equally pure, growing on one of theſe iſlands, which muſt at leaſt have weighed forty pounds. Rich veins of copper are viſible in almoſt all the rocks on theſe iſlands towards the ſhore; and copper ore, reſembling copperas, is likewiſe found in deep beds near the water: in a few hours bateaux might here be filled with ore, and in leſs than three days conveyed to the Straits of St. Mary, after paſſing which the ore might be laden on board large veſſels, and conveyed by water without any further interruption as far as Niagara River. The portage at the Straits of St. Mary may be paſſed in a few hours, and with a fair wind large veſſels, proper for traverſing Lakes Huron and Erie, may come down to the eaſtern extremity of the latter lake in ſix days.

Not only the building and fitting out of veſſels on the lakes is attended with conſiderable expence, but the coſt of keeping them up is likewiſe found to be very great, for they wear out much ſooner than veſſels employed commonly on the ocean; which circumſtance, according to the opinion of the naval gentlemen on the lakes, is owing to the freſhneſs of the water; added to this, no ſailors are to be hired but at very high wages, and it is found neceſſary to retain them at full pay during the five months of the year that the veſſels are laid up on account of the ice, as men cannot be procured at a moment's notice. The ſailors, with a few exceptions only, are procured from ſea ports, as it is abſolutely neceſſary on theſe lakes, the navigation of which is more dangerous than that of the ocean, to have able and experienced ſeamen. Lake Ontario itſelf is never frozen out of ſight of land, but its rivers and harbours are regularly blocked up by the ice.

The day after that on which we reached Kingſton, we took our paſſage for Niagara on board a ſchooner of one hundred and eighty tons burthen, which was waiting at the merchant's wharf for a fair wind. The eſtabliſhed price of the paſſage acroſs the lake in the cabin is two

guineas,

guineas, and in the ſteerage one guinea, for each perſon: this is by no means dear, conſidering that the captain, for the money, keeps a table for each reſpective ſet of paſſengers. The cabin table on board this veſſel was really well ſerved, and there was abundance of port and ſherry wine, and of every ſort of ſpirits, for the uſe of the cabin paſſengers. The freight of goods acroſs the lake is dearer in proportion, being thirty-ſix ſhillings Britiſh per ton, which is nearly as much as was paid for the tranſportation of a ton of goods acroſs the Atlantic previous to the preſent war; it cannot, however, be deemed exorbitant, when the expence of building and keeping the veſſels in repair, and the high wages of the ſailors, &c. are taken into conſideration.

On the 7th of September, in the afternoon, the wind became favourable for croſſing the lake; notice was in conſequence immediately ſent round to the paſſengers, who were diſperſed in different parts of the town, to get ready; all of them hurried on board; the veſſel was unmoored, and in a few minutes ſhe was wafted out into the lake by a light breeze. For the firſt mile and a half, in going from Kingſton, the proſpect is much confined, on account of the many large iſlands on the left hand ſide; but on weathering a point on one of the iſlands, at the end of that diſtance, an extenſive view of the lake ſuddenly opens, which on a ſtill clear evening, when the ſun is ſinking behind the lofty woods that adorn the ſhores, is extremely grand and beautiful.

Lake Ontario is the moſt eaſterly of the four large lakes through which the boundary line paſſes, that ſeparates the United States from the province of Upper Canada. It is two hundred and twenty miles in length, from eaſt to weſt, and ſeventy miles wide in the broadeſt part, and, according to calculation, contains about 2,330,000 acres. This lake is leſs ſubject to ſtorms than any of the others, and its waters in general, conſidering their great expanſe, are wonderfully tranquil. During the firſt evening of our voyage there was not the leaſt curl even on their ſurface, they were merely agitated by a gentle ſwell; and during the ſubſequent part of the voyage, the waves were at no time ſo high as to occaſion the ſlighteſt ſickneſs amongſt any of the paſſengers. The depth of the water in the lake is very great; in ſome parts it is unfathomable,

fathomable. On looking over the ſide of a veſſel, the water, owing to its great depth, appears to be of a blackiſh colour, but it is nevertheleſs very clear, and any white ſubſtance thrown overboard may be diſcerned at the depth of ſeveral fathoms from the ſurface; it is, however, by no means ſo clear and tranſparent as the water of ſome of the other lakes. Mr. Carver, ſpeaking of Lake Superior, ſays, "When it was calm, and "the ſun ſhone bright, I could ſit in my canoe, where the depth was "upwards of ſix fathoms, and plainly ſee huge piles of ſtone at the "bottom, of different ſhapes, ſome of which appeared as if they had "been hewn; the water was at this time as pure and tranſparent as air, "and my canoe ſeemed as if it hung ſuſpended in that element. It was "impoſſible to look attentively through this limpid medium, at the "rocks below, without finding, before many minutes were elapſed, your "head ſwim, and your eyes no longer able to behold the dazzling "ſcene." The water of Lake Ontario is very well taſted, and is that which is conſtantly uſed on board the veſſels that traverſe it.

It is very confidently aſſerted, not only by the Indians, but alſo by great numbers of the white people who live on the ſhores of Lake Ontario, that the waters of this lake riſe and fall alternately every ſeventh year; others, on the contrary, deny that ſuch a fluctuation does take place; and indeed it differs ſo materially from any that has been obſerved in large bodies of water in other parts of the globe, that for my own part I am ſomewhat tempted to believe it is merely an imaginary change; nevertheleſs, when it is conſidered, that according to the belief of the oldeſt inhabitants of the country, ſuch a periodical ebbing and flowing of the waters of the lake takes place, and that it has never been clearly proved to the contrary, we are bound to ſuſpend our opinions on the ſubject. A gentleman, whoſe habitation was ſituated cloſe upon the borders of the lake, not far from Kingſton, and who, from the nature of his profeſſion, had more time to attend to ſuch ſubjects than the generality of the people of the country, told me, that he had obſerved the ſtate of the lake attentively for nearly fourteen years, that he had reſided on the borders of it, and that he was of opinion the waters did not ebb and flow periodically; yet he acknowledged this very remark-

able fact, that ſeveral of the oldeſt white inhabitants in his neighbourhood declared, previouſly to the riſing of the lake, that the year 1795 would be the high year; and that in the ſummer of that year, the lake actually did riſe to a very uncommon height. He ſaid, however, that he had reaſon to think the riſing of the lake on this occaſion was wholly owing to fortuitous circumſtances, and not to any regular eſtabliſhed law of nature; and he conceived, that if the lake had not riſen as it had done, yet the people would have fancied, nevertheleſs, that it was in reality higher than uſual, as he ſuppoſed they had fancied it to be on former occaſions. He was induced to form this opinion, he ſaid, from the following circumſtance: When the lake had riſen to ſuch an unuſual height in the year 1795, he examined ſeveral of the oldeſt people on the ſubject, and queſtioned them particularly as to the comparative height of the waters on this and former occaſions. They all declared that the waters were not higher than they uſually were at the time of their periodical riſing; and they affirmed, that they had themſelves ſeen them equally high before. Now a grove of trees, which ſtood adjoining to this gentleman's garden, and muſt at leaſt have been of thirty years growth, was entirely deſtroyed this year by the waters of the lake, that flowed amongſt the trees; had the lake, therefore, ever riſen ſo high before, this grove would have been then deſtroyed. This circumſtance certainly militated ſtrongly againſt the evidence which the people gave as to the height of the waters; but it only proved that the waters had riſen on this occaſion higher than they had done for thirty years preceding; it did not prove that they had not, during that term, riſen periodically above their ordinary level.

What Mr. Carver relates concerning this ſubject, rather tends to confirm the opinion that the waters of the lake do riſe. "I had like," he ſays, "to have omitted a very extraordinary circumſtance relative "to theſe ſtraits;" the Straits of Michillimakinac, between lakes Michigan and Huron. "According to obſervations made by the French, "whilſt they were in poſſeſſion of the fort there, although there is no "diurnal flood or ebb to be perceived in theſe waters, yet from an exact "attention to their ſtate, a periodical alteration in them has been diſ-

"covered,

" covered. It was obſerved, that they aroſe by gradual but almoſt im-
" perceptible degrees, till they had reached the height of three feet;
" this was accompliſhed in ſeven years and a half; and in the ſame ſpace
" of time they as gently decreaſed, till they had reached their former
" ſituation; ſo that in fifteen years they had completed this inexpli-
" cable revolution. At the time I was there, the truth of theſe obſer-
" vations could not be confirmed by the Engliſh, as they had then been
" only a few years in poſſeſſion of the fort; but they all agreed that
" ſome alterations in the limits of the ſtraits was apparent." It is to be lamented that ſucceeding years have not thrown more light on the ſubject; for ſince the fort has been in our poſſeſſion, perſons competent to determine the truth of obſervations of ſuch a nature have never ſtaid a ſufficient length of time there to have had it in their power to do ſo.

A long ſeries of minute obſervations are neceſſary to determine poſitively whether the waters of the lake do or do not riſe and fall periodically. It is well known, for inſtance, that in wet ſeaſons the waters riſe much above their ordinary level, and that in very dry ſeaſons they ſink conſiderably below it; a cloſe attention, therefore, ought to be paid to the quantity of rain that falls, and to evaporation; and it ought to be aſcertained in what degree the height of the lake is altered thereby; otherwiſe, if the lake happened to be higher or lower than uſual on the ſeventh year, it would be impoſſible to ſay with accuracy whether it were owing to the ſtate of the weather, or to certain laws of nature that we are yet unacquainted with. At the ſame time, great attention ought to be paid to the ſtate of the winds, as well in reſpect to their direction as to their velocity, for the height of the waters of all the lakes is materially affected thereby. At Fort Erie, ſituated at the eaſtern extremity of the lake of the ſame name, I once obſerved the waters to fall full three feet in the courſe of a few hours upon a ſudden change of the wind from the weſtward, in which direction it had blown for many days, to the eaſtward. Moreover, theſe obſervations ought not only to be made at one place on the borders of any one of the lakes, but they ought to be made at ſeveral different places at the ſame time; for the

waters have encroached, owing to ſome unknown cauſes, conſiderably and gradually upon the ſhores in ſome places, and receded in others. Between the ſtone houſe, in the fort at Niagara, and the lake, for inſtance, there is not at preſent a greater ſpace than ten yards, or thereabouts; though when firſt built there was an extenſive garden between them. A water battery alſo, erected ſince the commencement of the preſent war, at the bottom of the bank, beyond the walls of the fort, was ſapped away by the water in the courſe of two ſeaſons, and now ſcarcely any veſtige of it remains. At a future day, when the country becomes more populous and more wealthy, perſons will no doubt be found who will have leiſure for making the obſervations neceſſary for determining whether the lakes do or do not undergo a periodical change, but at preſent the inhabitants on the borders of them are too much engaged in commercial and agricultural purſuits to attend to matters of mere ſpeculation, which, however they might amuſe the philoſopher, could be productive of no ſolid advantages to the generality of the inhabitants of the country.

It is believed by many perſons that the waters of Lake Ontario not only riſe and fall periodically every ſeventh year, but that they are likewiſe influenced by a tide, which ebbs and flows frequently in the courſe of twenty-four hours. On board the veſſel in which I croſſed the lake there were ſeveral gentlemen of the country, who confidently aſſured me, that a regular tide was obſervable at the Bay of Canti; that in order to ſatisfy themſelves on the ſubject, they had ſtood for ſeveral hours together, on more than one occaſion, at a mill at the head of the bay, and that they had obſerved the waters to ebb and flow regularly every four hours, riſing to the height of fourteen inches. There can be no doubt, however, but that the frequent ebbing and flowing of the water at this place muſt be cauſed by the wind; for no ſuch regular fluctuation is obſervable at Niagara, at Kingſton, or on the open ſhores of the lake; and owing to the formation of the Bay of Canti, the height of the water muſt neceſſarily vary there with every ſlight change of the wind. The Bay of Canti is a long crooked inlet, that grows narrower at the upper end, like a funnel; not only, therefore, a change of wind up or down the

the bay would make a difference in the height of the water at the uppermoſt extremity of it; but owing to the waters being concentrated there at one point, they would be ſeen to riſe or fall, if impelled even in the ſame direction, whether up or down the bay, more or leſs forcibly at one time of the day than at another. Now it is very ſeldom that the wind, at any part of the day or night, would be found to blow preciſely with the ſame force, for a given ſpace of two hours, that it had blown for the preceding ſpace of two hours; an appearance like a tide muſt therefore be ſeen almoſt conſtantly at the head of this bay whenever there was a breeze. I could not learn that the fluctuation had ever been obſerved during a perfect calm: were the waters, however, influenced by a regular tide, during a calm the tide would be moſt readily ſeen.

To return to the voyage. A few hours after we quitted Kingſton, on the 7th of September, the wind died away, and during the whole night the veſſel made but little way; early on the morning of the 8th, however, a freſh breeze ſprang up, and before noon we loſt ſight of the land. Our voyage now differed in no wiſe from one acroſs the ocean; the veſſel was ſteered by the compaſs, the log regularly heaved, the way marked down in the log book, and an exact account kept of the procedures on board. We continued ſailing, out of ſight of land, until the evening of the 9th, when we had a view of the blue hills in the neighbourhood of Toronto, on the northern ſide of the lake, but they ſoon diſappeared. Except at this place, the ſhores of the lake are flat and ſandy, owing to which circumſtance it is, that in traverſing the lake you are generally carried out of ſight of land in a very few hours.

At day break on the 10th the fort and town of Niagara appeared under the lee bow, and the wind being favourable, we had every proſpect before us of getting up to the town in a few hours; but ſcarcely had we reached the bar, at the mouth of Niagara River, when the wind ſuddenly ſhifted, and after endeavouring in vain to croſs it by means of tacking, we were under the neceſſity of caſting anchor at the diſtance of about two miles from the fort. The fort is ſeen to great advantage from the water; but the town being built parallel to the river, and no part of it

viſible

viſible to a ſpectator on the lake, except the few ſhabby houſes at the neareſt end, it makes but a very poor appearance. Having breakfaſted, and exchanged our *habits de voyage*, for ſuch as it was proper to appear in at the capital of Upper Canada, and at the center of the beau monde of the province, the ſchooner's yawl was launched, and we were landed, together with ſuch of the paſſengers as were diſpoſed to go on ſhore, at Miſſiſſaguis Point, from whence there is an agreeable walk of one mile, partly through woods, to the town of Niagara.

This point takes its name from the Miſſiſſaguis Indians, great numbers of whom are generally encamped upon it. The Miſſiſſaguis tribe inhabits the ſhores of Lake Ontario, and it is one of the moſt numerous of this part of the country. The men are in general very ſtout, and they are eſteemed moſt excellent hunters and fiſhers; but leſs warlike, it is ſaid, than any of the neighbouring nations. They are of a much darker complection than any other Indians I ever met with; ſome of them being nearly as black as negroes. They are extremely dirty and ſlovenly in their appearance, and the women are ſtill more ſo than the men; ſuch indeed is the odour exhaled in a warm day from the rancid greaſe and fiſh oil with which the latter daub their hair, necks, and faces profuſely, that it is offenſive in the higheſt degree to approach within ſome yards of them. On arriving at Niagara, we found great numbers of theſe Indians diſperſed in knots, in different parts of the town, in great concern for the loſs of a favourite and experienced chief. This man, whoſe name was Wompakanon, had been killed, it appeared, by a white man, in a fray which happened at Toronto, near to which place is the principal village of the Miſſiſſaguis nation. The remaining chiefs immediately aſſembled their warriors, and marched down to Niagara, to make a formal complaint to the Britiſh government. To appeaſe their reſentment, the commanding officer of the garriſon diſtributed preſents amongſt them to a large amount, and amongſt other things they were allowed no ſmall portion of rum and proviſions, upon which the tribe feaſted, according to cuſtom, the day before we reached the town; but the rum being all conſumed, they ſeemed to feel ſeverely for the loſs of poor Wompakanon. Fear of exciting the anger of the Britiſh government would prevent them from taking revenge openly on this

occaſion, but I was informed by a gentleman in the Indian department, intimately acquainted with the diſpoſitions of the Indians, that as nothing but blood is deemed ſufficient in their opinion to atone for the death of a favourite chief, they would certainly kill ſome white man, perhaps one perfectly innocent, when a favourable and ſecret opportunity offered for ſo doing, though it ſhould be twenty years afterwards.

The Miſſiſſaguis keep the inhabitants of Kingſton, of Niagara, and of the different towns on the lake, well ſupplied with fiſh and game, the value of which is eſtimated by bottles of rum and loaves of bread. A gentleman, with whom we dined at Kingſton, entertained us with a moſt excellent haunch of veniſon of a very large ſize, and a ſalmon weighing at leaſt fifteen pounds, which he had purchaſed from one of theſe Indians for a bottle of rum and a loaf of bread *, and upon enquiry I found that the Indian thought himſelf extremely well paid, and was highly pleaſed with having made ſuch a good bargain. The Indians catch ſalmon and other large fiſh in the following manner. Two men go together in a canoe at night; the one ſits in the ſtern and paddles, and the other ſtands with a ſpear over a flambeau placed in the head of the canoe. The fiſh, attracted by the light, come in numbers around the canoe, and the ſpearſman then takes the opportunity of ſtriking them. They are very expert at this buſineſs, ſeldom miſſing their aim.

Lake Ontario, and all the rivers which fall into it, abound with excellent ſalmon, and many different kinds of ſea-fiſh, which come up the River St. Lawrence; it alſo abounds with ſuch a great variety of freſh water fiſh, that it is ſuppoſed there are many ſorts in it which have never yet been named. In almoſt every part of the River St. Lawrence, fiſh is found in the greateſt abundance; and it is the opinion of many perſons, that if the fiſheries were properly attended to, particularly the ſalmon fiſhery, the country would be even more enriched thereby than by the fur trade. Sea wolves and ſea cows, amphibious animals, weighing from one to two thouſand pounds each, are ſaid to have been found in Lake Ontario; of the truth of this, however, there is ſome doubt; but certain it is, that in ſailing acroſs that lake animals of an immenſe ſize are frequently ſeen playing on the ſurface of

* Both together probably not worth more than half a dollar.

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the water. Of the large fiſhes, the ſturgeon is the one moſt commonly met with, and it is not only found in Lake Ontario, but alſo in the other lakes that have no immediate communication with the ſea. The ſturgeon caught in the lakes is valuable for its oil, but it is not a well flavoured fiſh; indeed, the ſturgeon found north of James River in Virginia is in general very indifferent, and ſeldom or never eaten.

Niagara River runs nearly in a due ſouth direction, and falls into Lake Ontario on the ſouthern ſhore, about thirty miles to the eaſtward of the weſtern extremity of the lake. It is about three hundred yards wide at its mouth, and is by far the largeſt body of water flowing into Lake Ontario. On the eaſtern ſide of the river is ſituated the fort, now in the poſſeſſion of the people of the States, and on the oppoſite or Britiſh ſide the town, moſt generally known by the name of Niagara, notwithſtanding that it has been named Newark by the legiſlature. The original name of the town was Niagara, it was afterwards called Lenox, then Naſſau, and afterwards Newark. It is to be lamented that the Indian names, ſo grand and ſonorous, ſhould ever have been changed for others. Newark, Kingſton, York, are poor ſubſtitutes for the original names of theſe reſpective places, Niagara, Cadaragui, Toronto. The town of Niagara hitherto has been, and is ſtill the capital of the province of Upper Canada; orders, however, had been iſſued, before our arrival there, for the removal of the ſeat of government from thence to Toronto, which was deemed a more eligible ſpot for the meeting of the legiſlative bodies, as being farther removed from the frontiers of the United States. This projected change is by no means reliſhed by the people at large, as Niagara is a much more convenient place of reſort to moſt of them than Toronto; and as the governor who propoſed the meaſure has been removed, it is imagined that it will not be put in execution. The removal of the ſeat of government from Niagara to Toronto, according to the plan laid down, was only to have been a preparatory ſtep to another alteration: a new city, to have been named London, was to have been built on the river formerly called La Trenche, but ſince called the Thames, a river running into Lake St. Clair, and here the ſeat of government was ultimately to have been fixed. The ſpot marked out for the ſcite of the city poſſeſſes many local advantages.

It is ſituated in a healthy fertile country, on a fine navigable river, in a central part of the province, from whence the water communication is extenſive in every direction. A few ſettlements have already been made on the banks of the river, and the tide of emigration is ſetting in ſtrongly towards that quarter; at a future day, therefore, it is by no means improbable but that this ſpot may be deemed an eligible one for the capital of the country; but to remove the ſeat of government immediately to a place little better than a wilderneſs, and ſo far from the populous parts of the province, would be a meaſure fraught with numberleſs inconveniencies to the public, and productive apparently of no eſſential advantages whatſoever.

The town of Niagara contains about ſeventy houſes, a court houſe, gaol, and a building intended for the accommodation of the legiſlative bodies. The houſes, with a few exceptions, are built of wood; thoſe next the lake are rather poor, but at the upper end of the town there are ſeveral very excellent dwellings, inhabited by the principal officers of government. Moſt of the gentlemen in official ſtations in Upper Canada are Engliſhmen of education, a circumſtance which muſt render the ſociety of the capital agreeable, let it be fixed where it will. Few places in North America can boaſt of a more rapid riſe than the little town of Niagara, nearly every one of its houſes having been built within the laſt five years: it is ſtill advancing moſt rapidly in ſize, owing to the increaſe of the back country trade along the ſhores of the upper lakes, which is all carried on through the place, and alſo owing to the wonderful emigrations, into the neighbourhood, of people from the States. The motives which lead the citizens of the United States to emigrate to the Britiſh dominions have already been explained. So ſudden and ſo great has the influx of people, into the town of Niagara and its vicinity, been, that town lots, horſes, proviſions, and every neceſſary of life have riſen, within the laſt three years, nearly fifty per cent. in value.

The banks of the River Niagara are ſteep and lofty, and on the top, at each ſide of the river, are extenſive plains. The town ſtands on the ſummit of the weſtern bank, about fifty yards from the water's edge. It commands a fine view of the lake and diſtant ſhores, and its ſitua-

tion is in every reſpect pleaſing to the eye. From its ſtanding on a ſpot of ground ſo much elevated above the level of the water, one would imagine that it muſt alſo be a remarkably healthy place, but it is, in fact, lamentably the reverſe. On arriving at the town, we were obliged to call at no leſs than four different taverns, before we could procure accommodations, the people at the firſt places we ſtopped at being ſo ſeverely afflicted with the ague, that they could not receive us; and on enquiring, it appeared that there was not a ſingle houſe in the whole town but where one or more of the inhabitants were labouring under this perplexing diſorder; in ſome of the houſes entire families were laid up, and at the fort on the oppoſite ſide of the river, the whole of the new garriſon, except a corporal and nine men, was diſqualified for doing duty. Each individual of our party could not but entertain very ſerious apprehenſions for his own health, on arriving at a place where ſickneſs was ſo general, but we were aſſured that the danger of catching the diſorder was now over; that all thoſe who were ill at preſent, had been confined many weeks before; and that for a fortnight paſt not a ſingle perſon had been attacked, who had not been ill in the preceding part of the ſeaſon. As a precaution, however, each one of the party took faſting, in the morning, a glaſs of brandy, in which was infuſed a teaſpoonfull of Peruvian bark. This mixture is deemed, in the country, one of the moſt certain preventatives againſt the diſorder, and few that take it, in time, regularly, and avoid the evening dews, ſuffer from it. Not only the town of Niagara and its vicinity are unhealthy places, but almoſt every part of Upper Canada, and of the territory of the States bordering upon the lakes, is likewiſe unhealthy. The ſickly ſeaſon commences about the middle of July, and terminates about the firſt week of September, as ſoon as the nights become cold. Intermittent fevers are the moſt common diſorders; but in ſome parts of the country the inhabitants ſuffer from continual fevers, of which there are different kinds, peculiar to certain diſtricts. In the country, for inſtance, bordering upon the Geneſee River, which falls into Lake Ontario on the ſouthern ſide, a fever is common amongſt the inhabitants of a malignant nature, vulgarly called the Geneſee fever, of which many die annually;

and

and in that bordering upon the Miami River, which falls into Lake Erie, within the north-weſtern territory of the United States, a fever of a different kind, again, is common. It does not appear that the exact nature of theſe different fevers has ever been accurately aſcertained. In the back parts of North America, in general, medical men are rarely to be met with, and indeed if they were, the ſettlements are ſo far removed from each other, that they could be of little ſervice.

It is very remarkable, that notwithſtanding that medical aſſiſtance is ſo rarely to be had in caſe of ſickneſs in the back country, yet the Americans, when they are about to change their place of abode, ſeldom or ever conſider whether the part of the country to which they are going is healthy or otherwiſe, at leaſt they are ſcarcely ever influenced in their choice of a place of reſidence either by its healthineſs or unhealthineſs. If the lands in one part of the country are ſuperior to thoſe in another in fertility; if they are in the neighbourhood of a navigable river, or ſituated conveniently to a good market; if they are cheap, and riſing in value, thither the American will gladly emigrate, let the climate be ever ſo unfriendly to the human ſyſtem. Not a year paſſes over, but what numbers of people leave the beautiful and healthy banks of the Suſquehannah River for the Geneſee country, where nine out of every ten of the inhabitants are regularly ſeized, during the autumn, with malignant fevers; but the lands bordering upon the Suſquehannah are in general poor, whereas thoſe in the Geneſee country are in many places ſo rich, that until reduced by ſucceſſive crops of Indian corn, wheat, to uſe the common phraſe, "will run wholly to ſtraw:" where it has been ſown in the firſt inſtance, the ſtalks have frequently been found fourteen or fifteen feet in length, two thirds of them lying on the ground.

On the margin of Niagara River, about three quarters of a mile from the town, ſtands a building called Navy Hall, erected for the accommodation of the naval officers on the lake during the winter ſeaſon, when their veſſels are laid up. Oppoſite to it there is a ſpacious wharf to protect the veſſels from the ice during the winter, and alſo to facilitate the landing of merchandize when the navigation is open. All cargoes brought up the lake, that are deſtined for Niagara, are landed

here. Adjoining the wharf are very extenſive ſtores belonging to the crown, and alſo to private perſons. Navy Hall is now occupied by the troops; the fort on the oppoſite ſide of the river, where they were formerly ſtationed, having been delivered up purſuant to the late treaty between his Majeſty and the United States. The troops, however, are only to remain at the hall until a blockhouſe is erected on the top of the banks for their accommodation; this building is in a ſtate of forwardneſs, and the engineer hopes to have it finiſhed in a few months.

The fort of Niagara ſtands immediately at the mouth of the river, on a point of land, one ſide of which is waſhed by the river and the other by the lake. Towards the water it is ſtockaded; and behind the ſtockade, on the river ſide, a large mound of earth riſes up, at the top of which are embraſures for guns; on the land ſide it is ſecured by ſeveral batteries and redoubts, and by parallel lines of faſcines. At the gates, and in various different parts, there are ſtrong blockhouſes; and facing the lake, within the ſtockade, ſtands a large fortified ſtone houſe. The fort and outworks occupy about five acres of ground; and a garriſon of five hundred men, and at leaſt from thirty to forty pieces of ordnance, would be neceſſary to defend it properly. The federal garriſon, however, conſiſts only of fifty men; and the whole of the cannon in the place amounts merely to four ſmall field pieces, planted at the four corners of the fort. This fort was founded by the French, and conſtituted one link of that extenſive chain of poſts which they eſtabliſhed along the lakes and the weſtern waters. It was begun by the building of the ſtone houſe, after a ſolemn promiſe had been obtained from the Indians that the artificers ſhould not be interrupted whilſt they were going on with the work. The Indians readily made this promiſe, as, according to their notion, it would have been inhoſpitable and unfriendly in the extreme not to have permitted a few traders to build a houſe within their territory to protect them againſt the inclemency of the ſeaſons; but they were greatly aſtoniſhed when one ſo totally different from any that they had ever ſeen before, and from any that they had an idea of, was completed; they began to ſuſpect that the ſtrangers had plans in meditation unfavourable to their intereſts, and they

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wiſhed to diſpoſſeſs them of their new manſion, but it was too late. In the hall of the houſe a well had been ſunk to keep it ſupplied with water; the houſe was plentifully ſtored with proviſions in caſe of a ſiege; and the doors being once cloſed, the tenants remained perfectly indifferent about every hoſtile attack the Indians could make againſt it. Fortifications to ſtrengthen the houſe were gradually erected; and by the year 1759 the place was ſo ſtrong as to reſiſt, for ſome time, the forces under the command of Sir William Johnſton. Great additions were made to the works after the fort fell into the hands of the Britiſh. The ſtone houſe is a very ſpacious building, and is now, as it was formerly, appropriated for the accommodation of the principal officers of the garriſon. In the rear of the houſe is a large apartment, commanding a magnificent view of the lake and of the diſtant hills at Toronto, which formerly was the officers meſs room, and a pattern of neatneſs. The officers of the federal garriſon, however, conſider it more convenient to meſs in one of the kitchens, and this beautiful room has been ſuffered to go to ruin; indeed every part of the fort now exhibits a picture of ſlovenlineſs and neglect; and the appearance of the ſoldiers is equally devoid of neatneſs with that of their quarters. Though it was on Sunday morning that we viſited the fort, on which day it is uſual even for the men of the garriſons in the States to appear better dreſſed than on other days, yet the greater part of the men were as dirty as if they had been at work in the trenches for a week without intermiſſion: their griſly beards demonſtrated that a razor had not approached their chins for many days; their hair, to appearance, had not been combed for the ſame length of time; their linen was filthy, their guns ruſty, and their clothes ragged. That the clothes and accoutrements of the men ſhould not be better is not to be wondered at, conſidering how very badly the weſtern army of the States is appointed in every reſpect; but it is ſtrange that the officers ſhould not attend more than they do to the cleanlineſs of their men. Their garriſons on the frontiers have uniformly ſuffered more from ſickneſs than thoſe of the Britiſh; and it is to be attributed, I ſhould imagine, in a great meaſure to their filthineſs; for the men are as ſtout and hardy, apparently, as any in the world. The weſtern army

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of the States has been moſt ſhamefully appointed from the very outſet. I heard General Wayne, then the commander in chief, declare at Philadelphia, that a ſhort time after they had begun their march, more than one third of his men were attacked in the woods, at the ſame period, with a dyſentery; that the ſurgeons had not even been furniſhed with a medicine cheſt; and that nothing could have ſaved the greater part of the troops from death, had not one of the young ſurgeons fortunately diſcovered, after many different things had been tried in vain, that the bark of the root of a particular ſort of yellow poplar tree was a powerful antidote to the diſorder. Many times alſo, he ſaid, his army had been on the point of ſuffering from famine in their own country, owing to the careleſſneſs of their commiſſaries. So badly indeed had the army been ſupplied, even latterly, with proviſions, that when notice was ſent to the federal general by the Britiſh officers, that they had received orders to deliver up their reſpective poſts purſuant to the treaty, and that they were prepared to do ſo whenever he was ready to take poſſeſſion of them, an anſwer was returned, that unleſs the Britiſh officers could ſupply his army with a conſiderable quantity of proviſions on arriving at the lakes, he could not attempt to march for many weeks. The federal army was generouſly ſupplied with fifty barrels of pork, as much as the Britiſh could poſſibly ſpare; notwithſtanding which, it did not make its appearance till a conſiderable time after the day appointed for the delivery of the poſts. The federal army is compoſed almoſt wholly of Iriſhmen and Germans, that were brought over as redemptioners, and enliſted as ſoon as they landed, before they had an opportunity of learning what great wages were given to labourers in the States. The natives of the country are too fond of making money to reſt ſatisfied with the pay of a common ſoldier.

The American prints, until the late treaty of amity was ratified, teemed with the moſt groſs abuſe of the Britiſh government, for retaining poſſeſſion of Niagara Fort, and the other military poſts on the lakes, after the independence of the States had been acknowledged, and peace concluded. It was never taken into conſideration, that if the Britiſh government had thought proper to have withdrawn its troops from the poſts

posts at once, immediately after the definitive treaty was signed, the works would in all probability have been destroyed by the Indians, within whose territories they were situated, long before the people of the States could have taken possession of them; for no part of their army was within hundreds of miles of the posts, and the country through which they must have past in getting to them was a mere wilderness; but if the army had gained the posts, the states were in no condition, immediately after the war, to have kept in them such large bodies of the military as would have been absolutely necessary for their defence whilst at enmity with the Indians, and it is by no means improbable, but that the posts might have been soon abandoned. The retention of them, therefore, to the present day, was, in fact, a circumstance highly beneficial to the interests of the States, notwithstanding that such an outcry was raised against the British on that account, inasmuch as the Americans now find themselves possessed of extensive fortifications on the frontiers, in perfect repair, without having been at the expence of building them, or maintaining troops in them for the space of ten years, during which period no equivalent advantages could have been derived from their possession. It is not to be supposed, however, that the British government meant to confer a favour on her late colonies by retaining the posts; it was well known that the people of the new states would be eager, sooner or later, to get possession of forts situated within their boundary line, and occupied by strangers; and as there were particular parts of the definitive treaty which some of the states did not seem very ready to comply with, the posts were detained as a security for its due ratification on the part of the States. In the late treaty of amity and commerce, these differences were finally accommodated to the satisfaction of Great Britain, and the posts were consequently delivered up. On the surrender of them very handsome compliments were paid, in the public papers throughout the States, to the British officers, for the polite and friendly manner in which they gave them up. The gardens of the officers were all left in full bearing, and high preservation; and all the little conveniencies

conveniences were ſpared, which could contribute to the comforts of the federal troops.

The generality of the people of the States were big with the idea, that the poſſeſſion of theſe places would be attended with the moſt important and immediate advantage; and in particular they were fully perſuaded, that they would thereby at once become maſters of the trade to the lakes, and of three-fourths at leaſt of the fur trade, which, they ſaid, had hitherto been ſo unjuſtly monopolized by the Britiſh merchants, to their great prejudice. They have now got poſſeſſion of them, and perceive the futility of all theſe notions.

The poſts ſurrendered are four in number; namely, Fort Oſwego, at the mouth of Oſwego River, which falls into Lake Ontario, on the ſouth ſide; Fort Niagara, at the mouth of Niagara River; Fort Detroit, on the weſtern bank of Detroit River; and Fort Michillimachinack, at the ſtraits of the ſame name, between Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. From Oſwego, the firſt of theſe, we derived no benefit whatever. The neighbouring country, for miles round, was a mere foreſt; it was inhabited by but few Indians, and theſe few carried their furs to Cadaragui or Kingſton, where they got a better price for them than at Oſwego, as there were many traders there, and of courſe ſome competition amongſt them; at the ſame time, the river, at the mouth of which this fort ſtands, was always open to the people of the States, and along it a ſmall trade was carried on by them between New York and Lake Ontario, which was in no wiſe ever interrupted by the troops at the fort. By the ſurrender of this place, therefore, they have gained nothing but what they enjoyed before, and the Britiſh government is ſaved the expence of keeping up a uſeleſs garriſon of fifty men.

The quantity of furs collected at Niagara is conſiderable, and the neighbourhood being populous, it is a place of no ſmall trade; but the town, in which this trade is carried on, being on the Britiſh ſide of the line, the few merchants that lived within the limits of the fort immediately croſſed over to the other ſide, as ſoon as it was rumoured that the fort was to be given up. By the poſſeſſion of a ſolitary fort, therefore, the people of the States have not gained the ſmalleſt portion of this part of the lake

lake trade; nor is it probable that any of them will find it their intereſt to ſettle as merchants near the fort; for the Britiſh merchants, on the oppoſite ſide, as has already been ſhewn, can afford to ſell their goods, brought up the St. Lawrence, on much lower terms than what goods brought from New York can be ſold at; and as for the collecting of furs, it is not to be imagined that the Indians, who bear ſuch a rooted hatred to the people of the States, who are attached to the Britiſh, and who are not a people ready to forſake their old friends, will carry their furs over to their enemies, and give up their connections with the men with whom they have been in the habit of dealing, and who can afford to pay them ſo much better than the traders on the oppoſite ſide of the water.

Detroit, of all the places which have been given up, is the moſt important; for it is a town, containing at leaſt twelve hundred inhabitants. Since its ſurrender, however, a new town has been laid out on the oppoſite bank of the river, eighteen miles lower down, and hither many of the traders have removed. The majority of them ſtay at Detroit; but few or none have become citizens of the States in conſequence, nor is it likely that they will, at leaſt for ſome time. In the late treaty, a particular proviſion for them was made; they were to be allowed to remain there for one year, without being called on to declare their ſentiments, and if at the end of that period they choſe to remain Britiſh ſubjects, they were not to be moleſted * in any manner, but ſuffered to carry on their trade as formerly in the fulleſt extent; the portion of the fur trade, which we ſhall loſe by the ſurrender of this place, will therefore be very inconſiderable.

* This part of the late treaty has by no means been ſtrictly obſerved on the part of the States. The officers of the federal army, without aſking permiſſion, and contrary to the deſire of ſeveral of the remaining Britiſh inhabitants, appropriated to their own uſe ſeveral of the houſes and ſtores of thoſe who had removed to the new town, and declared their determination of not becoming citizens of the States; and many of the inhabitants have been called on to ſerve in the militia, and to perform duties, from which, as Britiſh ſubjects, they were exempted by the articles in the treaty in their favour. When we were at Detroit, the Britiſh inhabitants met together, and drew up a memorial on the ſubject, reciting their grievances, which was committed to our care, and accordingly preſented to the Britiſh miniſter at Philadelphia.

The fourth poſt, Michillimackinack, is a ſmall ſtockaded fort, ſituated on an iſland. The agents of the North-weſt Company of merchants at Montreal, and a few independent traders, reſided within the limits of the fort, and bartered goods there for furs brought in by different tribes of Indians, who are the ſole inhabitants of the neighbouring country. On evacuating this place, another poſt was immediately eſtabliſhed, at no great diſtance, on the Iſland of St. Joſeph, in the Straits of St. Mary, between lakes Superior and Huron, and a ſmall garriſon left there, which has ſince been augmented to upwards of fifty men. Several traders, citizens of the States, have eſtabliſhed themſelves at Michillimakinac; but as the Britiſh traders have fixed their new poſt ſo cloſe to the old one, it is nearly certain that the Indians will continue to trade with their old friends in preference, for the reaſons before mentioned. From this ſtatement it appears evident, that the people of the States can only acquire by their new poſſeſſion a ſmall part of one branch of the fur trade, namely, of that which is carried on on one of the nearer lakes. The furs brought down from the diſtant regions in the north-weſt to the grand portage, and from thence in canoes to Montreal along the Utawa River, are what conſtitute by far the principal part, both as to quantity and value, of thoſe exported from Montreal; to talk, therefore, of their acquiring poſſeſſion of three-fourths of the fur trade by the ſurrender of the poſts on the lakes is abſurd in the extreme; neither is it likely that they will acquire any conſiderable ſhare of the lake trade in general, which, as I have already pointed out, can be carried on by the Britiſh merchants from Montreal and Quebec, by means of the St. Lawrence, with ſuch ſuperior advantage.

It is worthy of remark, that as military poſts, all thoſe lately eſtabliſhed by the Britiſh are far ſuperior, in point of ſituation, to thoſe delivered up. The ground on which the new block houſe is building, on the Britiſh ſide of Niagara River, is nine feet higher than the top of the ſtone houſe in the American fort, and it commands every part of the fort. The chief ſtrength of the old fort is on the land ſide; towards the water the works are very weak, and the whole might be battered down by a ſingle

twelve

twelve pounder judiciouſly planted on the Britiſh ſide of the river. At preſent it is not propoſed to erect any other works on the Britiſh ſide of the river than the block houſe; but ſhould a fort be conſtructed hereafter, it will be placed on Miſſiſſaguis Point, a ſtill more advantageous ſituation than that on which the block houſe ſtands, as it completely commands the entrance into the river.

The new poſt on Detroit River commands the channel much more effectually than the old fort in the town of Detroit; veſſels cannot go up or down the river without paſſing within a very few yards of it. It is remarkable, indeed, that the French, when they firſt penetrated into this part of the country, fixed upon the ſpot choſen for this new fort, in preference to that where Detroit ſtands, and they had abſolutely begun their fort and town, when the whole party was unhappily cut off by the Indians.

The iſland of St. Joſeph, in the third place, is a more eligible ſituation for a Britiſh military poſt than Michillimakinac, inaſmuch as it commands the entrance of Lake Superior, whereas Michillimakinac only commands the entrance into Lake Michigan, which is wholly within the territory of the United States.

It is ſincerely to be hoped, however, that Great Britain and the United States may continue friends, and that we never may have occaſion to view thoſe poſts on the frontiers in any other light than as convenient places for carrying on commerce.

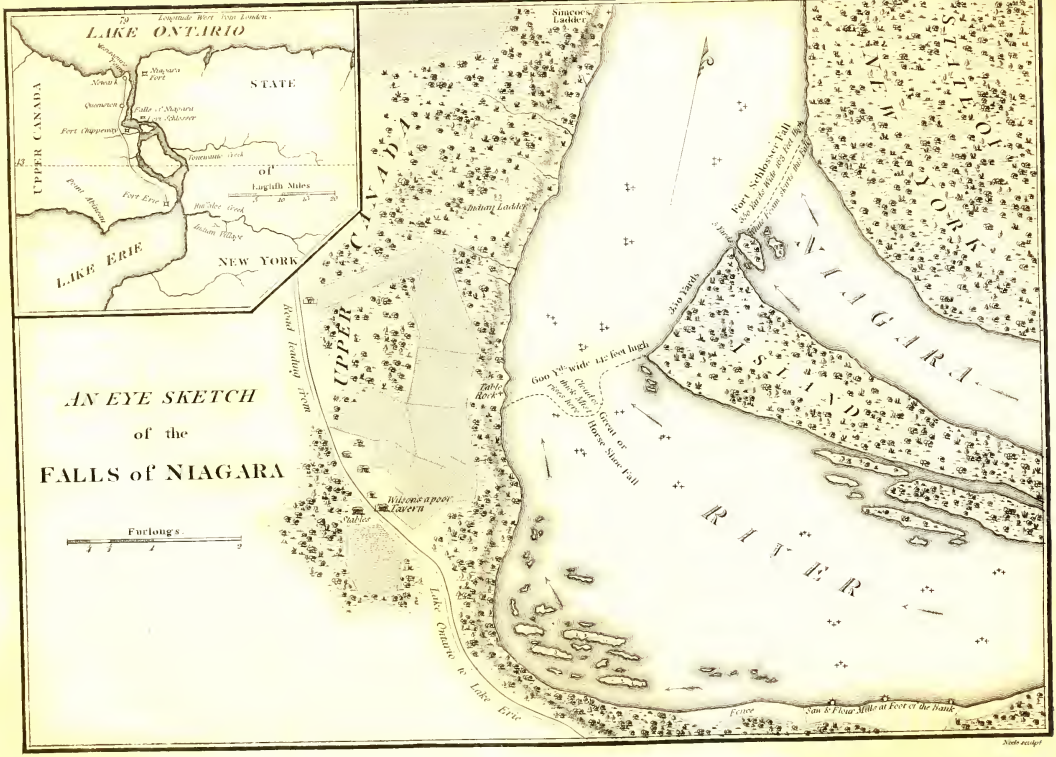
LETTER XXXI.

Description of the River and Falls of Niagara and the Country bordering upon the Navigable Part of the River below the Falls.

Fort Chippeway, September.

AT the distance of eighteen miles from the town of Niagara or Newark, are those remarkable falls in Niagara River, which may justly be ranked amongst the greatest natural curiosities in the known world. The road leading from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie runs within a few hundred yards of them. This road, which is within the British dominions, is carried along the top of the lofty steep banks of the river; for a considerable way it runs close to their very edge, and in passing along it the eye of the traveller is entertained with a variety of the most grand and beautiful prospects. The river, instead of growing narrow as you proceed upwards, widens considerably: at the end of nine or ten miles it expands to the breadth of a mile, and here it assumes much the appearance of a lake; it is enclosed, seemingly on all sides, by high hills, and the current, owing to the great depth of the water, is so gentle as to be scarcely perceptible from the top of the banks. It continues thus broad for a mile or two, when on a sudden the waters are contracted between the high hills on each side. From hence up to the falls the current is exceedingly irregular and rapid. At the upper end of this broad part of the river, and nearly at the foot of the banks, is situated a small village, that has been called Queenstown, but which, in the adjacent country, is best known by the name of "The Landing." The lake merchant vessels can proceed up to this village with perfect safety, and they commonly do so, to deposit, in the stores there, such goods as are intended to be sent higher up the country, and to receive in return the furs, &c. that have been collected at the various posts on lakes Huron and Erie, and sent thither to be conveyed down to Kingston, across Lake Ontario. The portage from this place to the nearest navigable part of Niagara River, above the falls, is nine miles in length.

About



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About half way up the banks, at the diſtance of a few hundred yards from Queenſtown, there is a very extenſive range of wooden barracks, which, when viewed a little way off, appears to great advantage; theſe barracks are now quite unoccupied, and it is not probable that they will ever be uſed until the climate improves: the firſt troops that were lodged in them ſickened in a very few days after their arrival; many of the men died, and had not thoſe that remained alive been removed, purſuant to the advice of the phyſicians, to other quarters, the whole regiment might poſſibly have periſhed.

From the town of Niagara to Queenſtown, the country in the neighbourhood of the river is very level; but here it puts on a different aſpect; a confuſed range of hills, covered with oaks of an immenſe ſize, ſuddenly riſes up before you, and the road that winds up the ſide of them is ſo ſteep and rugged that it is abſolutely neceſſary for the traveller to leave his carriage, if he ſhould be in one, and proceed to the top on foot. Beyond theſe hills you again come to an unbroken level country; but the ſoil here differs materially from that on the oppoſite ſide; it conſiſts of a rich dark earth intermixed with clay, and abounding with ſtones; whereas, on the ſide next Lake Ontario, the ſoil is of a yellowiſh caſt, in ſome places inclining to gravel and in others to ſand.

From the brow of one of the hills in this ridge, which overhangs the little village of Queenſtown, the eye of the traveller is gratified with one of the fineſt proſpects that can be imagined in nature: you ſtand amidſt a clump of large oaks, a little to the left of the road, and looking downwards, perceive, through the branches of the trees with which the hill is clothed from the ſummit to the baſe, the tops of the houſes of Queenſtown, and in front of the village, the ſhips moored in the river; the ſhips are at leaſt two hundred feet below you, and their maſts appear like ſlender reeds peeping up amidſt the thick foliage of the trees. Carrying your eye forward, you may trace the river in all its windings, and finally ſee it diſembogue into Lake Ontario, between the town and the fort: the lake itſelf terminates your view in this direction, except merely at one part of the horizon, where you juſt get a glimpſe of the blue hills of Toronto. The ſhore of the river, on the right hand,

remains in its natural ſtate, covered with one continued foreſt; but on the oppoſite ſide the country is interſperſed with cultivated fields and neat farm houſes down to the water's edge. The country beyond the hills is much leſs cleared than that which lies towards the town of Niagara, on the navigable part of the river.

From the ſudden change of the face of the country in the neighbourhood of Queenſtown, and the equally ſudden change in the river with reſpect to its breadth, depth, and current, conjectures have been formed, that the great falls of the river muſt originally have been ſituated at the ſpot where the waters are ſo abruptly contracted between the hills; and indeed it is highly probable that this was the caſe, for it is a fact well aſcertained, that the falls have receded very conſiderably ſince they were firſt viſited by Europeans, and that they are ſtill receding every year; but of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly preſently.

It was at an early hour of the day that we left the town of Niagara or Newark, accompanied by the attorney general and an officer of the Britiſh engineers, in order to viſit theſe ſtupendous falls. Every ſtep that we advanced toward them, our expectations roſe to a higher pitch; our eyes were continually on the look out for the column of white miſt which hovers over them; and an hundred times, I believe, did we ſtop our carriage in hopes of hearing their thundering ſound; neither, however, was the miſt to be ſeen, nor the ſound to be heard, when we came to the foot of the hills; nor after having croſſed over them, were our eyes or ears more gratified. This occaſioned no inconſiderable diſappointment, and we could not but expreſs our doubts to each other, that the wondrous accounts we had ſo frequently heard of the falls were without foundation, and calculated merely to impoſe on the minds of credulous people that inhabited a diſtant part of the world. Theſe doubts were nearly confirmed, when we found that, after having approached within half a mile of the place, the miſt was but juſt diſcernible, and that the ſound even then was not to be heard; yet it is nevertheleſs ſtrictly true, that the tremendous noiſe of the falls may be diſtinctly heard, at times, at the diſtance of forty miles; and the

cloud

cloud formed from the ſpray may be even ſeen ſtill farther off *; but it is only when the air is very clear, and there is a fine blue ſky, which however are very common occurrences in this country, that the cloud can be ſeen at ſuch a great diſtance. The hearing of the ſound of the falls afar off alſo depends upon the ſtate of the atmoſphere; it is obſerved, that the ſound can be heard at the greateſt diſtance, juſt before a heavy fall of rain, and when the wind is in a favourable point to convey the ſound toward the liſtener: the day on which we firſt approached the falls was thick and cloudy.

On that part of the road leading to Lake Erie which draws neareſt to the falls, there is a ſmall village, conſiſting of about half a dozen ſtraggling houſes: here we alighted, and having diſpoſed of our horſes, and made a ſlight repaſt, in order to prepare us for the fatigue we had to go through, we croſſed over ſome fields towards a deep hollow place ſurrounded with large trees, from the bottom of which iſſued thick volumes of whitiſh miſt, that had much the appearance of ſmoke riſing from large heaps of burning weeds. Having come to the edge of this hollow place, we deſcended a ſteep bank of about fifty yards, and then walking for ſome diſtance over a wet marſhy piece of ground, covered with thick buſhes, at laſt came to the Table Rock, ſo called from the remarkable flatneſs of its ſurface, and its bearing ſome ſimilitude to a table. This rock is ſituated a little to the front of the great fall, above the top of which it is elevated about forty feet. The view from it is truly ſublime; but before I attempt to give any idea of the nature of this view, it will be neceſſary to take a more general ſurvey of the river and falls.

* We ourſelves, ſome time afterwards, beheld the cloud with the naked eye, at no leſs a diſtance than fifty-four miles, when ſailing on Lake Erie, on board one of the king's ſhips. The day on which we ſaw it was uncommonly clear and calm, and we were ſeated on the poop of the veſſel, admiring the bold ſcenery of the ſouthern ſhore of the lake, when the commander, who had been aloft to make ſome obſervations, came to us, and pointing to a ſmall white cloud in the horizon, told us, that that was the cloud overhanging Niagara. At firſt it appeared to us that this muſt have been a mere conjecture, but on minute obſervation it was evident that the commander's information was juſt. All the other light clouds, in a few minutes, flitted away to another part of the horizon, whereas this one remained ſteadily fixed in the ſame ſpot; and on looking at it through a glaſs, it was plain to ſee that the ſhape of the cloud varied every inſtant, owing to the continued riſing of the miſt from the cataract beneath.

Niagara

Niagara River iſſues from the eaſtern extremity of Lake Erie, and after a courſe of thirty-ſix miles diſcharges itſelf into Lake Ontario, as has already been mentioned. For the firſt few miles from Lake Erie, the breadth of the river is about three hundred yards, and it is deep enough for veſſels drawing nine or ten feet water; but the current is ſo extremely rapid and irregular, and the channel ſo intricate, on account of the numberleſs large rocks in different places, that no other veſſels than bateaux ever attempt to paſs along it. As you proceed downward the river widens, no rocks are to be ſeen either along the ſhores or in the channel, and the waters glide ſmoothly along, though the current continues very ſtrong. The river runs thus evenly, and is navigable with ſafety for bateaux as far as Fort Chippeway, which is about three miles above the falls; but here the bed of it again becomes rocky, and the waters are violently agitated by paſſing down ſucceſſive rapids, ſo much ſo indeed, that were a boat by any chance to be carried but a little way beyond Chippeway, where people uſually ſtop, nothing could ſave it from being daſhed to pieces long before it came to the falls. With ſuch aſtoniſhing impetuoſity do the waves break on the rocks in theſe rapids, that the mere ſight of them from the top of the banks is ſufficient to make you ſhudder. I muſt in this place, however, obſerve, that it is only on each ſide of the river that the waters are ſo much troubled; in the middle of it, though the current is alſo there uncommonly ſwift, yet the breakers are not ſo dangerous but boats may paſs down, if dexterouſly managed, to an iſland which divides the river at the very falls. To go down to this iſland it is neceſſary to ſet off at ſome diſtance above Chippeway, where the current is even, and to keep exactly in the middle of the river the whole way thither; if the boats were ſuffered to get out of their courſe ever ſo little, either to the right or left, it would be impoſſible to ſtem the current, and bring them again into it; they would be irreſiſtibly carried towards the falls, and deſtruction muſt inevitably follow. In returning from the iſland there is ſtill more difficulty and danger than in going to it. Notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances, numbers of perſons have the foolhardineſs to proceed to this iſland, merely for the ſake of beholding the falls from the oppoſite ſide

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J. Weld del.t Neagle sculp.t

VIEW of the HORSE-SHOE FALL of NIAGARA

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of it, or for the ſake of having in their power to ſay that they had been upon it.

The river forces its way amidſt the rocks with redoubled impetuoſity, as it approaches towards the falls; at laſt coming to the brink of the tremendous precipice, it tumbles headlong to the bottom, without meeting with any interruption from rocks in its deſcent. Juſt at the precipice the river takes a conſiderable bend to the right, and the line of the falls, inſtead of extending from bank to bank in the ſhorteſt direction, runs obliquely acroſs. The width of the falls is conſiderably greater than the width of the river, admeaſured ſome way below the precipice; but the annexed plan will enable you to form a better idea of their poſition than any written deſcription whatſoever. For its great accuracy I cannot vouch, as it was done merely from the eye; ſuch as it is, however, I have ſent it to you, conceiving it better that you ſhould have a plan ſomewhat imperfect than no plan at all. On looking it over you will ſee that the river does not ruſh down the precipice in one unbroken ſheet, but that it is divided by iſlands into three diſtinct collateral falls. The moſt ſtupendous of theſe is that on the north weſtern or Britiſh ſide of the river, commonly called the Great, or Horſe-ſhoe Fall, from its bearing ſome reſemblance to the ſhape of a horſe ſhoe. The height of this is only one hundred and forty-two feet, whereas the others are each one hundred and ſixty feet high; but to its inferior height it is indebted principally for its grandeur; the precipice, and of courſe the bed of the river above it, being ſo much lower at the one ſide than at the other, by far the greater part of the water of the river finds its way to the low ſide, and ruſhes down with greater velocity at that ſide than it does at the other, as the rapids above the precipice are ſtrongeſt there. It is from the center of the Horſe-ſhoe Fall that ariſes that prodigious cloud of miſt which may be ſeen ſo far off. The extent of the Horſe-ſhoe Fall can only be aſcertained by the eye; the general opinion of thoſe who have moſt frequently viewed it is, that it is not leſs than ſix hundred yards in circumference. The iſland which ſeparates it from the next fall is ſuppoſed to be about three hundred and fifty yards wide; the ſecond fall is about five yards

wide; the next iſland about thirty yards; and the third, commonly called the Fort Schloper Fall, from being ſituated towards the ſide of the river on which that fort ſtands, is judged to admeaſure at leaſt as much as the large iſland. The whole extent of the precipice, therefore, including the iſlands, is, according to this computation, thirteen hundred and thirty-five yards. This is certainly not an exaggerated ſtatement. Some have ſuppoſed, that the line of the falls altogether exceeds an Engliſh mile. The quantity of water carried down the falls is prodigious. It will be found to amount to 670,255 tons per minute, though calculated ſimply from the following data, which ought to be correct, as coming from an experienced commander of one of the King's ſhips on Lake Erie, well acquainted in every reſpect with that body of water, viz. that where Lake Erie, towards its eaſtern extremity, is two miles and a half wide, the water is ſix feet deep, and the current runs at the rate of two knots in an hour; but Niagara River, between this part of Lake Erie and the falls, receives the waters of ſeveral large creeks, the quantity carried down the falls muſt therefore be greater than the foregoing computation makes it to be; if we ſay that ſix hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand tons of water are precipitated down the falls every minute, the quantity will not probably be much overrated.

To return now to the Table Rock, ſituated on the Britiſh ſide of the river, and on the verge of the Horſe-ſhoe Fall. Here the ſpectator has an unobſtructed view of the tremendous rapids above the falls, and of the circumjacent ſhores, covered with thick woods; of the Horſe-ſhoe Fall, ſome yards below him; of the Fort Schloper Fall, at a diſtance to the left; and of the frightful gulph beneath, into which, if he has but courage to approach to the expoſed edge of the rock, he may look down perpendicularly. The aſtoniſhment excited in the mind of the ſpectator by the vaſtneſs of the different objects which he contemplates from hence is great indeed, and few perſons, on coming here for the firſt time, can for ſome minutes collect themſelves ſufficiently to be able to form any tolerable conception of the ſtupendous ſcene before them. It is impoſſible for the eye to embrace the whole of it at once; it muſt gradually make itſelf acquainted, in the firſt place, with the component

VIEW of the Upper FALL of NIAGARA.

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VIEW of the FALLS of NIAGARA

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ponent parts of the ſcene, each one of which is in itſelf an object of wonder; and ſuch a length of time does this operation require, that many of thoſe who have had an opportunity of contemplating the ſcene at their leiſure, for years together, have thought that every time they have beheld it, each part has appeared more wonderful and more ſublime, and that it has only been at the time of their laſt viſit that they have been able to diſcover all the grandeur of the cataract.

Having ſpent a conſiderable time on the Table Rock, we returned to the fields the ſame way by which we had deſcended, purſuant to the direction of the officer of engineers accompanying us, who was intimately acquainted with every part of the cataract, and of the adjoining ground, and was, perhaps, the beſt guide that could be procured in the whole country. It would be poſſible to purſue your way along the edge of the cliff, from the Table Rock, a conſiderable way downwards; but the buſhes are ſo exceedingly thick, and the ground ſo rugged, that the taſk would be arduous in the extreme. The next ſpot from which we ſurveyed the falls, was from the part of the cliff nearly oppoſite to that end of the Fort Schloper Fall, which lies next to the iſland. You ſtand here, on the edge of the cliff, behind ſome buſhes, the tops of which have been cut down in order to open the view. From hence you have a better proſpect of the whole cataract, and are enabled to form a more correct idea of the poſition of the precipice, than from any one other place. The proſpect from hence is more beautiful, but I think leſs grand than from any other ſpot. The officer who ſo politely directed our movements on this occaſion was ſo ſtruck with the view from this ſpot, that he once had a wooden houſe conſtructed, and drawn down here by oxen, in which he lived until he had finiſhed ſeveral different drawings of the cataract: one of theſe we were gratified with the ſight of, which exhibited a view of the cataract in the depth of winter, when in a moſt curious and wonderful ſtate. The ice at this ſeaſon of the year accumulates at the bottom of the cataract in immenſe mounds, and huge icicles, like the pillars of a maſſy building, hang pendent in many places from the top of the precipice, reaching nearly to the bottom.

Having left this place, we returned once more through the woods bordering upon the precipice to the open fields, and then directed our courſe by a circuitous path, about one mile in length, to a part of the cliff where it is poſſible to deſcend to the bottom of the cataract. The river, for many miles below the precipice, is bounded on each ſide by ſteep, and in moſt parts perpendicular, cliffs, formed of earth and rocks, and it is impoſſible to deſcend to the bottom of them, except at two places, where large maſſes of earth and rocks have crumbled down, and ladders have been placed from one break to another, for the accommodation of paſſengers. The firſt of theſe places which you come to in walking along the river, from the Horſe-ſhoe Fall downwards, is called the "Indian Ladder," the ladders having been conſtructed there by the Indians. Theſe ladders, as they are called, of which there are ſeveral, one below the other, conſiſt ſimply of long pine trees, with notches cut in their ſides, for the paſſenger to reſt his feet on. The trees, even when firſt placed there, would vibrate as you ſtepped upon them, owing to their being ſo long and ſlender; age has rendered them ſtill leſs firm, and they now certainly cannot be deemed ſafe, though many perſons are ſtill in the habit of deſcending by their means. We did not attempt to get to the bottom of the cliff by this route, but proceeded to the other place, which is lower down the river, called Mrs. Simcoe's Ladder, the ladders having been originally placed there for the accommodation of the lady of the late governor. This route is much more frequented than the other; the ladders, properly ſo called, are ſtrong, and firmly placed, and none of them, owing to the frequent breaks in the cliff, are required to be of ſuch a great length but what even a lady might paſs up or down them without fear of danger. To deſcend over the rugged rocks, however, the whole way down to the bottom of the cliff, is certainly no trifling undertaking, and few ladies, I believe, could be found of ſufficient ſtrength of body to encounter the fatigue of ſuch an expedition.

On arriving at the bottom of the cliff, you find yourſelf in the midſt of huge piles of miſhapen rocks, with great maſſes of earth and rocks projecting

jecting from the ſide of the cliff, and overgrown with pines and cedars hanging over your head, apparently ready to crumble down and cruſh you to atoms. Many of the large trees grow with their heads downwards, being ſuſpended by their roots, which had taken ſuch a firm hold in the ground at the top of the cliff, that when part of it gave way the trees did not fall altogether. The river before you here is ſomewhat more than a quarter of a mile wide; and on the oppoſite ſide of it, a little to the right, the Fort Schloper Fall is ſeen to great advantage; what you ſee of the Horſe-ſhoe Fall alſo appears in a very favourable point of view; the projecting cliff conceals nearly one half of it. The Fort Schloper Fall is ſkirted at bottom by milk white foam, which aſcends in thick volumes from the rocks; but it is not ſeen to riſe above the fall like a cloud of ſmoke, as is the caſe at the Horſe-ſhoe Fall; nevertheleſs the ſpray is ſo conſiderable, that it deſcends on the oppoſite ſide of the river, at the foot of Simcoe's Ladder, like rain.

Having reached the margin of the river, we proceeded towards the Great Fall, along the ſtrand, which for a conſiderable part of the way thither conſiſts of horizontal beds of limeſtone rock, covered with gravel, except, indeed, where great piles of ſtones have fallen from the ſides of the cliff. Theſe horizontal beds of rock, in ſome places, extend very far into the river, forming points which break the force of the current, and occaſion ſtrong eddies along particular parts of the ſhore. Here great numbers of the bodies of fiſhes, ſquirrels, foxes, and various other animals, that, unable to ſtem the current of the river above the falls, have been carried down them, and conſequently killed, are waſhed up. The ſhore is likewiſe found ſtrewed with trees, and large pieces of timber, that have been ſwept away from the ſaw mills above the falls, and carried down the precipice. The timber is generally terribly ſhattered, and the carcaſes of all the large animals, particularly of the large fiſhes, are found very much bruiſed. A dreadful ſtench ariſes from the quantity of putrid matter lying on the ſhore, and numberleſs birds of prey, attracted by it, are always ſeen hovering about the place. Amongſt the numerous ſtories current in the country, relating to this wonderful cataract, there is one that records the hapleſs

leſs fate of a poor Indian, which I ſelect, as the truth of it is unqueſtionable. The unfortunate hero of this tale, intoxicated, it ſeems, with ſpirits, had laid himſelf down to ſleep in the bottom of his canoe, which was faſtened to the beach at the diſtance of ſome miles above the falls. His ſquaw ſat on the ſhore to watch him. Whilſt they were in this ſituation, a ſailor from one of the ſhips of war on the neighbouring lakes happened to paſs by; he was ſtruck with the charms of the ſquaw, and inſtantly determined upon enjoying them. The faithful creature, however, unwilling to gratify his deſires, haſtened to the canoe to arouſe her huſband; but before ſhe could effect her purpoſe, the ſailor cut the cord by which the canoe was faſtened, and ſet it adrift. It quickly floated away with the ſtream from the fatal ſpot, and ere many minutes elapſed, was carried down into the midſt of the rapids. Here it was diſtinctly ſeen by ſeveral perſons that were ſtanding on the adjacent ſhore, whoſe attention had been caught by the ſingularity of the appearance of a canoe in ſuch a part of the river. The violent motion of the waves ſoon awoke the Indian; he ſtarted up, looked wildly around, and perceiving his danger, inſtantly ſeized his paddle, and made the moſt ſurpriſing exertions to ſave himſelf; but finding in a little time that all his efforts would be of no avail in ſtemming the impetuoſity of the current, he with great compoſure put aſide his paddle, wrapt himſelf up in his blanket, and again laid himſelf down in the bottom of the canoe. In a few ſeconds he was hurried down the precipice; but neither he nor his canoe were ever ſeen more. It is ſuppoſed that not more than one third of the different things that happen to be carried down the falls reappear at bottom.

From the foot of Simcoe's Ladder you may walk along the ſtrand for ſome diſtance without inconvenience; but as you approach the Horſe-ſhoe Fall, the way becomes more and more rugged. In ſome places, where the cliff has crumbled down, huge mounds of earth, rocks, and trees, reaching to the water's edge, oppoſe your courſe; it ſeems impoſſible to paſs them; and, indeed, without a guide, a ſtranger would never find his way to the oppoſite ſide; for to get there it is neceſſary to mount nearly to their top, and then to crawl on your

hands and knees through long dark holes, where paſſages are left open between the torn up rocks and trees. After paſſing theſe mounds, you have to climb from rock to rock cloſe under the cliff, for there is but little ſpace here between the cliff and the river, and theſe rocks are ſo ſlippery, owing to the continual moiſture from the ſpray, which deſcends very heavily, that without the utmoſt precaution it is ſcarcely poſſible to eſcape a fall. At the diſtance of a quarter of a mile from the Great Fall we were as wet, owing to the ſpray, as if each of us had been thrown into the river.

There is nothing whatſoever to prevent you from paſſing to the very foot of the Great Fall; and you might even proceed behind the prodigious ſheet of water that comes pouring down from the top of the precipice, for the water falls from the edge of a projecting rock; and, moreover, caverns of a very conſiderable ſize have been hollowed out of the rocks at the bottom of the precipice, owing to the violent ebullition of the water, which extend ſome way underneath the bed of the upper part of the river. I advanced within about ſix yards of the edge of the ſheet of water, juſt far enough to peep into the caverns behind it; but here my breath was nearly taken away by the violent whirlwind that always rages at the bottom of the cataract, occaſioned by the concuſſion of ſuch a vaſt body of water againſt the rocks. I confeſs I had no inclination at the time to go farther; nor, indeed, did any of us afterwards attempt to explore the dreary confines of theſe caverns, where death ſeemed to await him that ſhould be daring enough to enter their threatening jaws. No words can convey an adequate idea of the awful grandeur of the ſcene at this place. Your ſenſes are appalled by the ſight of the immenſe body of water that comes pouring down ſo cloſely to you from the top of the ſtupendous precipice, and by the thundering ſound of the billows daſhing againſt the rocky ſides of the caverns below; you tremble with reverential fear, when you conſider that a blaſt of the whirlwind might ſweep you from off the ſlippery rocks on which you ſtand, and precipitate you into the dreadful gulph beneath, from whence all the power of man could not extricate you; you feel what an inſignificant being you are in the creation, and your mind is forcibly impreſſed with

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an awful idea of the power of that mighty Being who commanded the waters to flow.

Since the Falls of Niagara were firſt diſcovered they have receded very conſiderably, owing to the diſrupture of the rocks which form the precipice. The rocks at bottom are firſt looſened by the conſtant action of the water upon them; they are afterwards carried away, and thoſe at top being thus undermined, are ſoon broken by the weight of the water ruſhing over them; even within the memory of many of the preſent inhabitants of the country, the falls have receded ſeveral yards. The commodore of the King's veſſels on Lake Erie, who had been employed on that lake for upwards of thirty years, informed me, that when he firſt came into the country it was a common practice for young men to go to the iſland in the middle of the falls; that after dining there, they uſed frequently to dare each other to walk into the river towards certain large rocks in the midſt of the rapids, not far from the edge of the falls; and ſometimes to proceed through the water, even beyond theſe rocks. No ſuch rocks are to be ſeen at preſent; and were a man to advance two yards into the river from the iſland, he would be inevitably ſwept away by the torrent. It has been conjectured, as I before mentioned, that the Falls of Niagara were originally ſituated at Queenſtown; and indeed the more pains you take to examine the courſe of the river from the preſent falls downward, the more reaſon is there to imagine that ſuch a conjecture is well founded. From the precipice nearly down to Queenſtown, the bed of the river is ſtrewed with large rocks, and the banks are broken and rugged; circumſtances which plainly denote that ſome great diſruption has taken place along this part of the river; and we need be at no loſs to account for it, as there are evident marks of the action of water upon the ſides of the banks, and conſiderably above their preſent baſes. Now the river has never been known to riſe near theſe marks during the greateſt floods; it is plain, therefore, that its bed muſt have been once much more elevated than it is at preſent. Below Queenſtown, however, there are no traces on the banks to lead us to imagine that the level of the water was ever much higher there than it is now. The ſudden increaſe of the depth

depth of the river juſt below the hills at Queenſtown, and its ſudden expanſion there at the ſame time, ſeem to indicate that the waters muſt for a great length of time have fallen from the top of the hills, and thus have formed that extenſive deep baſin below the village. In the river, a mile or two above Queenſtown, there is a tremendous whirlpool, owing to a deep hole in the bed; this hole was probably alſo formed by the waters falling for a great length of time on the ſame ſpot, in conſequence of the rocks which compoſed the then precipice having remained firmer than thoſe at any other place did. Tradition tells us, that the great fall, inſtead of having been in the form of a horſe ſhoe, once projected in the middle. For a century paſt, however, it has remained nearly in the preſent form; and as the ebullition of the water at the bottom of the cataract is ſo much greater at the center of this fall than in any other part, and as the water conſequently acts with more force there in undermining the precipice than at any other part, it is not unlikely that it may remain nearly in the ſame form for ages to come.

At the bottom of the Horſe-ſhoe Fall is found a kind of white concrete ſubſtance, by the people of the country, called ſpray. Some perſons have ſuppoſed that it is formed from the earthy particles of the water, which deſcending, owing to their great ſpecific gravity, quicker than the other particles, adhere to the rocks, and are there formed into a maſs. This concrete ſubſtance has preciſely the appearance of petrified froth; and it is remarkable, that it is found adhering to thoſe rocks againſt which the greateſt quantities of the froth, that floats upon the water, is waſhed by the eddies.

We did not think of aſcending the cliff till the evening was far advanced, and had it been poſſible to have found our way up in the dark, I verily believe we ſhould have remained at the bottom of it until midnight. Juſt as we left the foot of the great fall the ſun broke through the clouds, and one of the moſt beautiful and perfect rainbows that ever I beheld was exhibited in the ſpray that aroſe from the fall. It is only at evening and morning that the rainbow is ſeen in perfection; for the banks of the river, and the ſteep precipice, ſhade the ſun from the ſpray at the bottom of the fall in the middle of the day. At a little

diſtance from the foot of the ladder we halted, and one of the party was diſpatched to fetch a bottle of brandy and a pair of goblets, which had been depoſited under ſome ſtones on the margin of the river, in our way to the great fall, whither it would have been highly inconvenient to have carried them. Wet from head to foot, and greatly fatigued, there certainly was not one amongſt us that appeared, at the moment, deſirous of getting the brandy, in order to pour out a libation to the tutelary deities of the cataract; nor indeed was there much reaſon to apprehend that our piety would have ſhone forth more conſpicuouſly afterwards; however it was not put to the teſt; for the meſſenger returned in a few minutes with the woeful intelligence that the brandy and goblets had been ſtolen. We were at no great loſs in gueſſing who the thieves were. Perched on the rocks, at a little diſtance from us, ſat a pair of the river nymphs, not "nymphs with ſedged crowns and ever "harmleſs looks;" not "temperate nymphs," but a pair of ſquat ſturdy old wenches, that with cloſe bonnets and tucked up petticoats had crawled down the cliff, and were buſied with long rods in angling for fiſh. Their noiſy clack plainly indicated that they had been well pleaſed with the brandy, and that we ought not to entertain any hopes of recovering the ſpoil; we e'en ſlaked our thirſt, therefore, with a draught from the wholeſome flood, and having done ſo, boldly puſhed forward, and before it was quite dark regained the habitations from whence we had ſtarted. On returning we found a well ſpread table laid out for us in the porch of the houſe, and having gratified the keen appetite which the fatigue we had encountered had excited, our friendly guides, having previouſly given us inſtructions for examining the falls more particularly, ſet off by moonlight for Niagara, and we repaired to Fort Chippeway, three miles above the falls, which place we made our head-quarters while we remained in the neighbourhood, becauſe there was a tolerable tavern, and no houſe in the village near the falls, where ſickneſs was not prevalent.

The Falls of Niagara are much leſs difficult of acceſs now than they were ſome years ago. Charlevoix, who viſited them in the year 1720, tells us, that they were only to be viewed from one ſpot; and that from thence

thence the ſpectator had only a ſide proſpect of them. Had he been able to have deſcended to the bottom, he would have had ocular demonſtration of the exiſtence of caverns underneath the precipice, which he ſuppoſed to be the caſe from the hollow ſound of the falling of the waters; from the number of carcaſes waſhed up there on different parts of the ſtrand, and would alſo have been convinced of the truth of a circumſtance which he totally diſbelieved, namely, that fiſh were oftentimes unable to ſtem the rapid current above the falls, and were conſequently carried down the precipice.

The moſt favourable ſeaſon for viſiting the falls is about the middle of September, the time when we ſaw them; for then the woods are ſeen in all their glory, beautifully variegated with the rich tints of autumn; and the ſpectator is not then annoyed with vermin. In the ſummer ſeaſon you meet with rattleſnakes at every ſtep, and muſquitoes ſwarm ſo thickly in the air, that to uſe a common phraſe of the country, "you "might cut them with a knife." The cold nights in the beginning of September effectually baniſh theſe noxious animals.

LETTER XXXII.

Deſcription of Fort Chippeway.—Plan in meditation to cut a Canal to avoid the Portage at the Falls of Niagara.—Departure from Chippeway.—Intenſe Heat of the Weather.—Deſcription of the Country bordering on Niagara River above the Falls.—Obſervations on the Climate of Upper Canada.—Rattleſnakes common in Upper Canada.—Fort Erie.—Miſerable Accommodation there.—Squirrel hunting.—Seneka Indians.—Their Expertneſs at the Uſe of the Blow-gun.—Deſcription of the Blow-gun.—Excurſion to the Village of the Senekas.—Whole Nation abſent.—Paſſage of a dangerous Sand Bar at the Mouth of Buffalo Creek.—Sail from Fort Erie.—Driven back by a Storm.—Anchor under Point Abineau.—Deſcription of the Point.—Curious Sand Hills there.—Bear hunting.—How carried on.—Dogs, what Sort of, uſed.—Wind changes.—The Veſſel ſuffers from the Storm whilſt at Anchor.—Departure from Point Abineau.—General Deſcription of Lake Erie.—Anecdote.—Reach the Iſlands at the Weſtern End of the Lake.—Anchor there.—Deſcription of the Iſlands.—Serpents of various Kinds found there.—Rattleſnakes.—Medicinal Uſes made of them.—Fabulous Accounts of Serpents.—Departure from the Iſlands.—Arrival at Malden.—Detroit River.

Malden, October.

FORT CHIPPEWAY, from whence my laſt letter was dated, is a ſmall ſtockaded fort, ſituated on the borders of a creek of the ſame name, about two hundred yards diſtant from Niagara River. Had it been built immediately on the latter ſtream, its ſituation would have been much more convenient; for the water of the creek is ſo bad that it cannot be drank, and the garriſon is obliged to draw water daily from the river. The fort, which occupies about one rood of ground only, conſiſts of a ſmall block houſe, incloſed by a ſtockade of cedar poſts about twelve feet high, which is merely ſufficient to defend the garriſon againſt muſquet ſhot. Adjoining to the fort there are about ſeven or eight farm houſes, and ſome large ſtone houſes, where goods are depoſited

poſited preparatory to their being conveyed up the river in bateaux, or acroſs the portage in carts, to Queenſtown. It is ſaid that it would be practicable to cut a canal from hence to Queenſtown, by means of which the troubleſome and expenſive proceſs of unlading the bateaux and tranſporting the goods in carts along the portage would be avoided. Such a canal will in all probability be undertaken one day or other; but whenever that ſhall be the caſe, there is reaſon to think that it will be cut on the New York ſide of the river for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe the ground on that ſide is much more favourable for ſuch an undertaking; and, ſecondly, becauſe the ſtate of New York is much more populous, and far better enabled to advance the large ſums of money that would be requiſite for cutting a canal through ſuch rugged ground as borders upon the river, than the province of Upper Canada either is at preſent, or appears likely to be.

About fifteen men, under the command of a lieutenant, are uſually quartered at Fort Chippeway, who are moſtly employed in conducting in bateaux from thence to Fort Erie the ſtores for the troops in the upper country, and the preſents for the Indians.

After we had gratified our curioſity in regard to the wonderous objects in the neighbourhood, at leaſt as far as our time would permit, we were obligingly furniſhed with a batean by the officer at Fort Chippeway, to whom we carried letters, to convey us to Fort Erie. My companions embarked in it with our baggage, when the morning appointed for our departure arrived; but deſirous of taking one more look at the falls, I ſtaid behind, determining to follow them on foot in the courſe of the day; I accordingly walked down to the falls from Fort Chippeway after breakfaſt, ſpent an hour or two there, returned to the fort, and having ſtopped a ſhort time to reſt myſelf after the fatigues of climbing the ſteeps about the falls, I ſet out for Fort Erie, fifteen miles diſtant from Chippeway, accompanied by my faithful ſervant Edward, who has indeed been a treaſure to me ſince I have been in America. The day was by no means favourable for a pedeſtrian expedition; it was intenſely hot, and we had not proceeded far before we found the neceſſity of taking off our jackets, waiſtcoats, and cravats,

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and carrying them in a bundle on our backs. Several parties of Indians that I met going down the river in canoes were ſtark naked.

The banks of Niagara River, between Chippeway and Fort Erie, are very low, and covered, for the moſt part, with ſhrubs, under whoſe ſhade, upon the gravelly beach of the river, the weary traveller finds an agreeable reſting place. For the firſt few miles from Chippeway there are ſcarcely any houſes to be ſeen; but about half way between that place and Fort Erie they are thickly ſcattered along the banks of the river. The houſes in this neighbourhood were remarkably well built, and appeared to be kept in a ſtate of great neatneſs; moſt of them were ſheathed with boards, and painted white. The lands adjoining them are rich, and were well cultivated. The crops of Indian corn were ſtill ſtanding here, which had a moſt luxuriant aſpect; in many of the fields there did not appear to be a ſtem leſs than eight feet in height. Between the rows they ſow gourds, ſquaſhes, and melons, of which laſt every ſort attains to a ſtate of great perfection in the open air throughout the inhabited parts of the two provinces. Peaches in this part of the country likewiſe come to perfection in the open air, but in Lower Canada, the ſummers are too ſhort to permit them to ripen ſufficiently. The winters here are very ſevere whilſt they laſt, but it is ſeldom that the ſnow lies longer than three months on the ground. The ſummers are intenſely hot, Fahrenheit's thermometer often riſing to 96°, and ſometimes above 100°.

As I paſſed along to Fort Erie I killed a great many large ſnakes of different ſorts that I found baſking in the ſun. Amongſt them I did not find any rattleſnakes; theſe reptiles, however, are very commonly met with here; and at the diſtance of twenty or thirty miles from the river, up the country, it is ſaid that they are ſo numerous as to render the ſurveying of land a matter of very great danger. It is a circumſtance ſtrongly in favour of Lower Canada, that the rattleſnake is not found there; it is ſeldom found, indeed, to the northward of the forty-fifth parallel of north latitude.

Fort Erie ſtands at the eaſtern extremity of Lake Erie; it is a ſmall ſtockaded fort, ſomewhat ſimilar to that at Chippeway; and adjoining

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it are extenſive ſtores as at Chippeway, and about half a dozen miſerable little dwellings. On arriving there I had no difficulty in diſcovering my companions; I found them lodged in a ſmall log-houſe, which contained but the one room, and juſt ſitting down to a ſupper, they had procured through the aſſiſtance of a gentleman in the Indian department, who accompanied them from Chippeway. This habitation was the property of an old woman, who in her younger days had followed the drum, and now gained her livelihood by accommodating, to the beſt of her power, ſuch travellers as paſſed by Fort Erie. A ſorry habitation it was; the crazy door was ready to drop off the hinges, and in all the three windows of it not one pane of glaſs was there, a young gentleman from Detroit having amuſed himſelf, whilſt detained in the place by contrary winds, ſome little time before our arrival, with ſhooting arrows through them. It was not likely that theſe windows would be ſpeedily repaired, for no glazier was to be met with nearer than Newark, thirty-ſix miles diſtant. Here, as we lay folded in our ſkins on the floor, the rain beat in upon us, and the wind whiſtled about our ears; but this was not the worſt. In the morning we found it a difficult matter to get wherewith to ſatisfy our hunger; dinner was more difficult to be had than breakfaſt, ſupper than dinner; there ſeemed to be a greater ſcarcity of proviſions alſo the ſecond day than there was on the firſt. At laſt, fearing that we ſhould be famiſhed if we remained longer under the care of old mother Palmer, we embarked at once on board the veſſel of war in which we intended to croſs the lake, where although ſometimes toſſed about by the raging contrary winds, yet we had comfortable births, and fared plentifully every day.

Ships lie oppoſite to Fort Erie, at the diſtance of about one hundred yards from the ſhore; they are there expoſed to all the violence of the weſterly winds, but the anchorage is excellent, and they ride in perfect ſafety. Three veſſels of war, of about two hundred tons, and carrying from eight to twelve guns each, beſides two or three merchant veſſels, lay wind bound whilſt we remained here. The little fort, with the ſurrounding houſes built on the rocky ſhore, the veſſels lying at anchor before it, the rich woods, the diſtant hills on the oppoſite ſide of the

the lake, and the vaſt lake itſelf, extending to the fartheſt part of the horizon, altogether formed an intereſting and beautiful ſcene.

Whilſt we were detained here by contrary winds, we regularly went on ſhore after breakfaſt to take a ramble in the woods; oftentimes alſo we amuſed ourſelves with the diverſion of hunting ſquirrels with dogs, amongſt the ſhrubs and young trees on the borders of the lake, thouſands of which animals we found in the neighbourhood of the fort. The ſquirrels, alarmed by the barking of the dogs, leap from tree to tree with wonderful ſwiftneſs; you follow them cloſely, ſhaking the trees, and ſtriking againſt the branches with poles. Sometimes they will lead you a chace of a quarter of a mile and more; but ſooner or later, terrified by your attentive purſuit, make a falſe leap, and come to the ground; the dogs, ever on the watch, then ſeize the opportunity to lay hold of them; frequently, however, the ſquirrels will elude their repeated ſnaps, and mount another tree before you can look round you. I have ſeldom known them to be hurt by their fall, notwithſtanding that I have many times ſeen them tumble from branches of trees upwards of twenty feet from the ground.

In our rambles we uſed frequently to fall in with parties of the Seneka Indians, from the oppoſite ſide of the lake, that were amuſing themſelves with hunting and ſhooting theſe animals. They ſhot them principally with bows and blow-guns, at the uſe of which laſt the Senekas are wonderfully expert. The blow-gun is a narrow tube, commonly about ſix feet in length, made of a cane reed, or of ſome pithy wood, through which they drive ſhort ſlender arrows by the force of the breath. The arrows are not much thicker than the lower ſtring of a violin; they are headed generally with little triangular bits of tin, and round the oppoſite ends, for the length of two inches, a quantity of the down of thiſtles, or ſomething very like it, is bound, ſo as to leave the arrows at this part of ſuch a thickneſs that they may but barely paſs into the tube. The arrows are put in at the end of the tube that is held next to the mouth, the down catches the breath, and with a ſmart puff they will fly to the diſtance of fifty yards. I have followed young Seneka Indians, whilſt ſhooting with blow-guns, for hours together,

gether, during which time I have never known them once to miſs their aim, at the diſtance of ten or fifteen yards, although they ſhot at the little red ſquirrels, which are not half the ſize of a rat; and with ſuch wonderful force uſed they to blow forth the arrows, that they frequently drove them up to the very thiſtle-down through the heads of the largeſt black ſquirrels. The effect of theſe guns appears at firſt like magic. The tube is put to the mouth, and in the twinkling of an eye you ſee the ſquirrel that is aimed at fall lifeleſs to the ground; no report, not the ſmalleſt noiſe even, is to be heard, nor is it poſſible to ſee the arrow, ſo quickly does it fly, until it appears faſtened in the body of the animal.

The Seneka is one of the ſix nations which formerly bore the general name of the Iroquois Indians. Their principal village is ſituated on Buffalo Creek, which falls into the eaſtern extremity of Lake Erie, on the New York ſhore. We took the ſhip's boat one morning, and went over to viſit it, but all the Indians, men, women, and children, amounting in all to upwards of ſix hundred perſons, had, at an early hour, gone down to Fort Niagara, to partake of a feaſt which was there prepared for them. We walked about in the neighbourhood of the village, dined on the graſs on ſome cold proviſions that we had taken with us, and in the evening, returned.

Oppoſite to the mouth of Buffalo Creek there is a very dangerous ſand bar, which at times it is totally impoſſible to paſs in any other veſſels than bateaux; we found it no eaſy matter to get over it in the ſhip's long boat with four oars on going into the creek, and in returning the paſſage was really tremendous. The wind, which was weſterly, and of courſe impelled the vaſt body of water in the lake towards the mouth of the creek, had increaſed conſiderably whilſt we had been on ſhore, and the waves had begun to break with ſuch fury over the bar, that it was not without a conſiderable ſhare of terror that we contemplated the proſpect of paſſing through them: the commodore of the King's ſhips on the lake, who was at the helm, was determined, however, to croſs the bar that night, and accordingly, a ſtrict ſilence having been enjoined, that the crew might hear his orders, we boldly entered into the midſt of the breakers: the boat now rolled about in a moſt

alarming manner; ſometimes it mounted into the air on the top of the mighty billows, at other times it came thumping down with prodigious force on the bar; at laſt it ſtuck quite faſt in the ſand; neither oars nor rudder were any longer of uſe, and for a moment we gave ourſelves over for loſt; the waves that rolled towards us broke on all ſides with a noiſe like that of thunder, and we were expecting that the boat would be overwhelmed by ſome one or other of them every inſtant, when luckily a large wave, that rolled on a little farther than the reſt without breaking into foam, ſet us again afloat, and the oarſmen making at that moment the moſt vigorous exertions, we once more got into deep water; it was not, however, until after many minutes that we were ſafely out of the tremendous ſurf. A boat, with a pair of oars only, that attempted to follow us, was overwhelmed in an inſtant by a wave which broke over her: it was in vain to think of attempting to give any aſſiſtance to her crew, and we were obliged for a time to endure the painful thought that they might be ſtruggling with death within a few yards of us; but before we loſt ſight of the ſhore we had the ſatisfaction of beholding them all ſtanding in ſafety on the beach, which they had reached by ſwimming.

After having been detained about ſeven days at Fort Erie, the wind veered about in our favour, the ſignal gun was fired, the paſſengers repaired on board, and at half an hour before ſun-ſet we launched forth into the lake. It was much ſuch another evening as that on which we left Kingſton; the vaſt lake, bounded only by the horizon, glowed with the rich warm tints that were reflected in its unruffled ſurface from the weſtern ſky; and the top of the tall foreſt, adorning the ſhores, appeared fringed with gold, as the ſun ſunk down behind it. There was but little wind during the firſt part of the night; but afterwards a freſh breeze ſprang up, and by ten o'clock the next morning we found ourſelves forty miles diſtant from the fort: the proſperous gale, however, did not long continue, the ſky became overcaſt, the waves began to roll with fury, and the captain judging it adviſable to ſeek a place of ſhelter againſt the impending ſtorm, the ſhip was put about, and with all poſſible expedition meaſured back the way which we

ſhad juſt made with ſo much pleaſure. We did not return, however, the whole way to Fort Erie, but run into a ſmall bay on the ſame ſide of the lake, about ten miles diſtant, ſheltered by Point Abineau: by three o'clock in the afternoon the veſſel was ſafely moored, and this buſineſs having been accompliſhed, we proceeded in the long boat to the ſhore, which was about two miles off.

Point Abineau is a long narrow neck of land, which projects into the lake nearly in a due ſouth direction; on each ſide of it there is an extenſive bay, which affords good anchorage; the extremity of the point is covered with rocks, lying horizontally in beds, and extending a conſiderable way into the lake, nearly even with the ſurface of the water, ſo that it is only in a few places that boats can approach the ſhore. The rocks are of a ſlate colour, but ſpotted and ſtreaked in various directions with a dirty yellow; in many places they are perforated with ſmall holes, as if they had been expoſed to the action of fire. The ſhores of the bays, on the contrary, are covered with ſand; on digging to the depth of a few feet, however, I ſhould imagine that in moſt parts of the ſhore the ſame ſort of rocks would be found as thoſe ſeen on the extremity of the point; for where the ſandy part of the ſhore commences, it is evident that the rocks have been covered by the ſand which has been waſhed up by the waves of the lake: the northern ſhore of the lake abounds very generally with rocks of the ſame deſcription.

On the weſtern ſide of Point Abineau the ſtrand differs in no wiſe, to appearance, from that of the ocean: it is ſtrewed with a variety of ſhells of a large ſize; quantities of gulls are continually ſeen hovering over it; and during a gale of wind from the weſt, a ſurge breaks in upon it, as tremendous as is to be ſeen on any part of the coaſt of England. The mounds of ſand accumulated on Point Abineau are truly aſtoniſhing; thoſe next to the lake, that have been waſhed by the ſtorms of late years, are totally devoid of verdure; but others, ſituated behind them, towards the center of the point, ſeem coeval with the world itſelf, and are covered with oaks of the largeſt ſize from top to bottom. In general theſe mounds are of an irregular form; but in

ſome places, of the greateſt height, they are ſo even and ſtraight that it appears as if they had been thrown up by the hand of art, and you may almoſt fancy them to be the old works of ſome vaſt fortification. Theſe regular mounds extend in all directions, but chiefly from north to ſouth, which demonſtrates that weſterly winds were as prevalent formerly in this part of the country as they are at the preſent day. I ſhould ſuppoſe that ſome of theſe mounds are upwards of one hundred feet above the level of the lake.

The ground on the eaſtern ſide of the point is neither ſo much broken nor ſo ſandy as that on the oppoſite one, and there we found two farm houſes, adjoining to each of which were about thirty acres of cleared land. At one of theſe we procured a couple of ſheep, ſome fowls, and a quantity of potatoes, to add to our ſtore of proviſions, as there was reaſon to apprehend that our voyage would not be ſpeedily terminated: whilſt the men were digging for the latter, the old woman of the houſe ſpread her little table, and prepared for us the beſt viands which her habitation afforded, namely, coarſe cake bread, roaſted potatoes, and bear's fleſh ſalted, which laſt we found by no means unpalatable. The haunch of a young cub is a diſh much eſteemed, and we frequently met with it at table in the upper country; it is extremely rich and oily, nevertheleſs they ſay it never cloys the ſtomach.

Towards evening we returned to the veſſel, and the ſtorm being much abated, paſſed, not an, uncomfortable night.

At day break the next morning I took the boat, and went on ſhore to join a party that, as I had been informed the preceding evening, was going a bear-hunting. On landing, I found the men and dogs ready, and having loaded our guns we advanced into the woods. The people here, as in the back parts of the United States, devote a very great part of their time to hunting, and they are well ſkilled in the purſuit of game of every deſcription. They ſhoot almoſt univerſally with the rifle gun, and are as dextrous at the uſe of it as any men can be. The guns uſed by them are all imported from England. Thoſe in moſt eſtimation carry balls of the ſize of thirty to the pound; in the States the hunters very commonly ſhoot with balls of a much ſmaller ſize, ſixty of them

them not weighing more than one pound; but the people in Canada are of opinion that it is better to use the large balls, although more troublesome to carry through the woods, as they inflict much more destructive wounds than the others, and game seldom escapes after being wounded by them. Dogs of a large size are chosen for bear hunting: those most generally preferred seem to be of a breed between the blood hound and mastiff; they will follow the scent of the bear, as indeed most field dogs will, but their chief use is to keep the bear at bay when wounded, or to follow him if he attempt to make off whilst the hunter is reloading his gun. Bears will never attempt to attack a man or a dog while they can make their escape, but once wounded or closely hemmed in they will fight most furiously. The young ones, at sight of a dog, generally take to a tree; but the old ones, as if conscious of their ability to fight a dog, and at the same time that they cannot fail of becoming the prey of the hunter if they ascend a tree, never do so, unless indeed they see a hunter coming towards them on horseback, a sight which terrifies them greatly.

The Indians generally go in large parties to hunt bears, and on coming to the place where they suppose these animals are lurking, they form themselves into a large circle, and as they advance endeavour to rouse them. It is seldom that the white hunters muster together in sufficient numbers to pursue their game in this manner; but whenever they have men enough to divide themselves so, they always do it. We proceeded in this manner at Point Abineau, where three or four men are amply sufficient to hem in a bear between the water and the main land. The point was a very favourable place for hunting this year, for the bears, intent, as I before mentioned, upon emigrating to the south, used, on coming down from the upper country, to advance to the extreme end of the point, as if desirous of getting as near as possible by land to the opposite side of the lake, and scarcely a morning came but what one or two of them were found upon it. An experienced hunter can at once discern the track of a bear, deer, or any other large animal, in the woods, and can tell with no small degree of precision how long a time before, it was, that the animal passed that way. On coming to a long

valley,

valley, between two of the ſand hills on the point, a place through which the bears generally paſſed in going towards the water, the hunters whom I accompanied at once told how many bears had come down from the upper country the preceding night, and alſo how many of them were cubs. To the eye of a common obſerver the track of theſe animals amongſt the leaves is wholly imperceptible; indeed, in many inſtances, even after the hunters had pointed them out to me, I could but barely perceive the prints of their feet on the cloſeſt inſpection; yet the hunters, on coming up to the place, ſaw theſe marks with a glance of the eye.

After killing a bear, the firſt care of the hunters is to ſtrip him of his ſkin. This buſineſs is performed by them in a very few minutes, as they always carry knives about them particularly ſuited for the purpoſe; afterwards the careaſe is cut up, an operation in which the tomahawk, an inſtrument that they, moſtly, carry with them alſo, is particularly uſeful. The choiceſt parts of the animal are then ſelected and carried home, and the reſt left in the woods. The Indians hold the paws of the bear in great eſtimation; ſtewed with young puppies, they are ſerved up at all their principal feaſts. On killing the animal, the paws are gaſhed with a knife, and, afterwards, hung over a fire, amidſt the ſmoke, to dry. The ſkins of the bears are applied to numberleſs uſes, in the country, by the farmers, who ſet no ſmall value upon them. They are commonly cured by being ſpread upon a wall or between two trees, before the ſun, and in that poſition ſcraped with a knife, or piece of iron, daily, which brings out the greaſe or oil, a very conſiderable quantity of which oozes from them. Racoon and deer ſkins, &c. are cured in a ſimilar manner. The Indians have a method of dreſſing theſe different ſkins with the hair on, and of rendering them at the ſame time as pliable as a piece of cloth; this is principally effected by rubbing the ſkins, with the hand, in the ſmoke of a wood fire.

Towards the middle of the day, the hunt being over, the party returned to the habitation on the point. On arriving there I found my companions, who had juſt come on ſhore, and after having ſtrolled about the woods for a time, we all went on board the ſhip to dine.

The

The ſky had been very gloomy the whole of this day; it became more and more ſo as the evening approached, and the ſeamen foretold that before morning there would be a dreadful ſtorm. At no time a friend to the watery element, I immediately formed the reſolution of paſſing the night on ſhore; accordingly having got the boat manned after dinner, I took with me my ſervant, and landed at the head of the bay on the eaſtern ſide of the point. Here being left to ourſelves, we pitched our tent by moonlight, under the ſhelter of one of the ſteep ſand hills; and having kindled a large fire in the front of it, laid down, and were ſoon lulled to repoſe by the hollow roar of the wind amidſt the tall trees of the ſurrounding foreſt. Not ſo my companions, who viſited me at an early hour the next morning, and lamented ſorely that they had not accompanied me on ſhore. There had been a tremendous ſea running in the lake all night; the wind had ſhifted ſomewhat to the ſouthward, and Point Abineau, in conſequence, affording but little protection to the veſſel, ſhe had rolled about in a moſt alarming manner; one of the ſtanchions at her bow ſtarted by her violent working; the water came pouring in as from a pump; a ſcene of confuſion enſued, and the ſailors were kept buſily employed the greater part of the night in ſtopping the leak. The veſſel being old, crazy, and on her laſt voyage, ſerious apprehenſions were entertained leſt ſome worſe accident ſhould befal her before morning, and neither the crew nor the paſſengers felt themſelves at all eaſy until day-light appeared, when the gale abated. We amuſed ourſelves this morning in rambling through the woods, and along the ſhores of the lake, with our fowling pieces. On the ſtrand we found great numbers of gulls, and different birds of prey, ſuch as hawks, kites, &c.; here alſo we met with large flocks of ſand larks, as they are called by the people of the country, in colour ſomewhat reſembling the grey lapwing; their walk and manner alſo are ſo very ſimilar, that, when on the ground, they might be taken for the ſame bird were they but of a larger ſize; they are not much bigger than a ſparrow. In the woods we fell in for the firſt time with a large covey or flock of ſpruce partridges or pheaſants, as the people call them in this neighbourhood. In colour, they are not much unlike the Engliſh partridge,

partridge, but of a larger ſize, and their fleſh in flavour differs little from that of the Engliſh pheaſant. They are different in many reſpects both from the partridge and pheaſant found in Maryland and in the middle ſtates, but in none more ſo than in their wonderful tameneſs, or rather ſtupidity. Before the flock took to flight I ſhot three birds ſingly from off one tree, and had I but been acquainted with the proper method of proceeding at the time, it is poſſible I might have ſhot them all in turn. It ſeems you muſt always begin by ſhooting the bird that ſits loweſt on the tree, and ſo proceed upwards, in which caſe the ſurvivors are not at all alarmed. Ignorant, however, of this ſecret, I ſhot at one of the uppermoſt birds, and the diſturbance that he made in falling through the branches on which the others were perched put the flock to flight immediately.

On returning from our ramble in the woods to the margin of the lake, we were agreeably ſurpriſed to find the wind quite favourable for proſecuting our voyage, and in a few minutes afterwards heard the ſignal gun, and ſaw the ſhip's boat coming for the purpoſe of taking us from ſhore. We got on board in time for dinner, but did not proceed on our voyage until midnight; ſo high a ſea ſtill continued running in the lake, that the captain thought it imprudent to venture out of the bay before that time. In the morning we found ourſelves under the rich bold lands on the ſouthern ſide of the lake; the water was ſmooth, the ſky ſerene, and every one felt pleaſed with the voyage. It was on this day that we beheld the cloud over the Falls of Niagara, as I before mentioned, at the great diſtance of fifty-four miles.

Lake Erie is of an elliptical form; in length about three hundred miles, and in breadth, at the wideſt part, about ninety. The depth of water in this lake is not more than twenty fathoms, and in calm weather veſſels may ſecurely ride at anchor in any part of it; but when ſtormy, the anchorage in an open part of the lake is not ſafe, the ſands at bottom not being firm, and the anchors apt therefore to loſe their hold. Whenever there is a gale of wind the waters immediately become turbid, owing to the quantity of yellow ſand that is waſhed up from the bottom of the lake; in calm weather the water is clear, and of a deep greeniſh

greenish colour. The northern shore of the lake is very rocky, as likewise are the shores of the islands, of which there are several clusters towards the western extremity of the lake; but along most parts of the southern shore is a fine gravelly beach. The height of the land bordering on the lake is very unequal; in some places long ranges of steep mountains rise from the very edge of the water; in others the shores are so flat and so low, that when the lake is raised a little above its usual level, in consequence of a strong gale of wind setting in towards the shore, the country is deluged for miles. A young gentleman, who was sent in a bateau with dispatches across the lake, not long before we passed through the country, perished, with several of his party, owing to an inundation of this sort that took place on a low part of the shore. I must here observe, that when you navigate the lake in a bateau, it is customary to keep as close as possible to the land; and whenever there is any danger of a storm, you run the vessel on shore, which may be done with safety, as the bottom of it is perfectly flat. I before mentioned the peculiar advantage of a bateau over a keel boat in this respect. The young gentleman alluded to was coasting along in this manner, when a violent storm suddenly arose. The bateau was instantaneously turned towards the shore; unfortunately, however, in running her upon the beach some mismanagement took place, and she oversét. The waves had already begun to break in on the shore with prodigious impetuosity; each one of them rolled farther in than the preceding one; the party took alarm, and instead of making as strenuous exertions as it was supposed they might have made, to right the bateau, they took a few necessaries out of her, and attempted to save themselves by flight; but so rapidly did the water flow after them, in consequence of the increasing storm, that before they could proceed far enough up the country to gain a place of safety, they were all overwhelmed by it, two alone excepted, who had the presence of mind and ability to climb a lofty tree. To the very great irregularity of the height of the lands on both sides of it, is attributed the frequency of storms on Lake Erie. The shores of Lake Ontario are lower and more uniform than those of any of the other lakes;

and that lake is the moſt tranquil of any, as has already been noticed.

There is a great deficiency of good harbours along the ſhores of this Lake. On its northern ſide there are but two places which afford ſhelter to veſſels drawing more than ſeven feet water, namely, Long Point and Point Abineau; and theſe only afford a partial ſhelter. If the wind ſhould ſhift to the ſouthward whilſt veſſels happen to be lying under them, they are thereby expoſed to all the dangers of a rocky lee ſhore. On the ſouthern ſhore, the firſt harbour you come to in going from Fort Erie, is that of Preſqu' Iſle. Veſſels drawing eight feet water may there ride in perfect ſafety; but it is a matter of no ſmall difficulty to get into the harbour, owing to a long ſand bar which extends acroſs the mouth of it. Preſqu' Iſle is ſituated at the diſtance of about ſixty miles from Fort Erie. Beyond this, nearly midway between the eaſtern and weſtern extremities of the lake, there is another harbour, capable of containing ſmall veſſels, at the mouth of Cayahega River, and another at the mouth of Sanduſky River, which falls into the lake within the north weſtern territory of the States. It is very ſeldom that any of theſe harbours are made uſe of by the Britiſh ſhips; they, indeed, trade almoſt ſolely between Fort Erie and Detroit River; and when in proſecuting their voyages they chance to meet with contrary winds, againſt which they cannot make head, they for the moſt part return to Fort Erie, if bound to Detroit River; or to ſome of the bays amidſt the cluſters of iſlands ſituated towards the weſtern extremity of the lake, if bound to Fort Erie. In going up the lake, it very often happens that veſſels, even after they have got cloſe under theſe iſlands, the neareſt of which is not leſs than two hundred and forty miles from Fort Erie, are driven back by ſtorms the whole way to that fort. Juſt as we were preparing to caſt anchor under Middle Iſland, one of the neareſt of them, a ſquall ſuddenly aroſe, and it was not without very great difficulty that we could keep our ſtation: the captain told us afterwards, that he really feared at one time, that we ſhould have been driven back to our old quarters.

It was about two o'clock on the third day from that of our quitting Point Abineau, that we reached Middle Iſland. We lay at anchor until the next morning, when the wind ſhifted a few points in our favour, and enabled us to proceed ſome miles farther on, to a place of greater ſafety, ſheltered by iſlands on all ſides; but beyond this the wind did not permit us to advance for three days. It is very ſeldom that veſſels bound from Fort Erie to any place on Detroit River accompliſh their voyage without ſtopping amongſt theſe iſlands; for the ſame wind favourable for carrying them from the eaſtern to the weſtern extremity of the lake will not waft them up the river. The river runs nearly in a ſouth-weſt direction; its current is very ſtrong; and unleſs the wind blows freſh, and nearly in an oppoſite direction to it, you cannot proceed. The navigation of Lake Erie, in general, is very uncertain; and paſſengers that croſs it in any of the King's, or principal merchant veſſels, are not only called upon to pay double the ſum for their paſſage, demanded for that acroſs Lake Ontario, but anchorage money beſides, that is, a certain ſum per diem as long as the veſſel remains wind bound at anchor in any harbour. The anchorage money is about three dollars per day for each cabin paſſenger.

The iſlands at the weſtern end of the lake, which are of various ſizes, lie very cloſe to each other, and the ſcenery amongſt them is very pleaſing. The largeſt of them are not more than fourteen miles in circumference, and many would ſcarcely be found to admeaſure as many yards round. They are all covered with wood of ſome kind or other, even to the very ſmalleſt. The larger iſlands produce a variety of fine timber, amongſt which are found oaks, hiccory trees, and red cedars; the latter grow to a much larger ſize than in any part of the neighbouring country, and they are ſent for even from the Britiſh ſettlements on Detroit River, forty miles diſtant. None of theſe iſlands are much elevated above the lake, nor are they diverſified with any riſing grounds; moſt of them, indeed, are as flat as if they had been overflowed with water, and in the interior parts of ſome of the largeſt of them there are extenſive ponds and marſhes. The fine timber, which

theſe iſlands produce, indicates that the ſoil muſt be uncommonly fertile. Here are found in great numbers, amongſt the woods, racoons, and ſquirrels; bears are alſo at times found upon ſome of the iſlands during the winter ſeaſon, when the lake is frozen between the main land and the iſlands; but they do not remain continually, as the other animals do. All the iſlands are dreadfully infeſted with ſerpents, and on ſome of them rattleſnakes are ſo numerous, that in the height of ſummer it is really dangerous to land: it was now late in September; yet we had not been three minutes on ſhore on Baſs Iſland, before ſeveral of theſe noxious reptiles were ſeen amongſt the buſhes, and a couple of them, of a large ſize, were killed by the ſeamen.

Two kinds of rattleſnakes are found in this part of the country; the one is of a deep brown colour, clouded with yellow, and is ſeldom met with more than thirty inches in length. It uſually frequents marſhes and low meadows, where it does great miſchief amongſt cattle, which it bites moſtly in the lips as they are grazing. The other ſort is of a greeniſh yellow colour, clouded with brown, and attains nearly twice the ſize of the other. It is moſt commonly found between three and four feet in length, and as thick as the wriſt of a large man. The rattleſnake is much thicker in proportion to its length than any other ſnake, and it is thickeſt in the middle of the body, which approaches ſomewhat to a triangular form, the belly being flat, and the back bone riſing higher than any other part of the animal. The rattle, with which this ſerpent is provided, is at the end of the tail; it is uſually about half an inch in breadth, one quarter of an inch in thickneſs, and each joint about half an inch long. The joint conſiſts of a number of little caſes of a dry horny ſubſtance, incloſed one within another, and not only the outermoſt of theſe little caſes articulates with the outermoſt caſe of the contiguous joint, but each caſe, even to the ſmalleſt one of all, at the inſide, is connected by a ſort of joint with the correſponding caſe in the next joint of the rattle. The little caſes or ſhells lie very looſely within one another, and the noiſe proceeds from their dry and hard coats ſtriking one againſt the other. It is ſaid that the animal gains a freſh joint to its rattle every year; of this, however,

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I have great doubts, for the largeſt ſnakes are frequently found to have the feweſt joints to their rattles. A medical gentleman in the neighbourhood of Newmarket, behind the Blue Mountains, in Virginia, had a rattle in his poſſeſſion, which contained no leſs than thirty-two joints; yet the ſnake from which it was taken ſcarcely admeaſured five feet; rattleſnakes, however, of the ſame kind, and in the ſame part of the country, have been found of a greater length with not more than ten rattles. One of the ſnakes, which we ſaw killed on Baſs Iſland, in Lake Erie, had no more than four joints in its rattle, and yet it was nearly four feet long.

The ſkin of the rattleſnake, when the animal is wounded, or otherwiſe enraged, exhibits a variety of beautiful tints, never ſeen at any other time. It is not with the teeth which the rattleſnake uſes for ordinary purpoſes that it ſtrikes its enemy, but with two long crooked fangs in the upper jaw, which point down the throat. When about to uſe theſe fangs, it rears itſelf up as much as poſſible, throws back its head, drops its under jaw, and ſpringing forward upon its tail, endeavours to hook itſelf as it were upon its enemy. In order to raiſe itſelf on its tail it coils itſelf up previouſly in a ſpiral line, with the head in the middle. It cannot ſpring farther forward than about half its own length.

The fleſh of the rattle-ſnake is as white as the moſt delicate fiſh, and is much eſteemed by thoſe who are not prevented from taſting it by prejudice. The ſoup made from it is ſaid to be delicious, and very nouriſhing.

In my rambles about the iſlands under which we lay at anchor, I found many ſpecimens of the exuviæ of theſe ſnakes, which, in the opinion of the country people of Upper Canada, are very efficacious in the cure of the rheumatiſm, when laid over the part afflicted, and faſtened down with a bandage. The body of the rattleſnake dried to a cinder over the fire, and then finely pulveriſed, and infuſed in a certain portion of brandy, is alſo ſaid to be a never failing remedy againſt that diſorder. I converſed with many people who had made uſe of this medicine, and they were firmly perſuaded that they were indebted to it for a ſpeedy cure.

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The liquor is taken inwardly, in the quantity of a wine glaſs full at once, about three times a day. No effect, more than from taking plain brandy, is perceived from taking this medicine on the firſt day; but at the end of the ſecond day the body of the patient becomes ſuffuſed with a cold ſweat, every one of his joints grow painful, and his limbs become feeble, and ſcarcely able to ſupport him; he grows worſe and worſe for a day or two, but perſevering in the uſe of the medicine for a few days, he gradually loſes his pains, and recovers his wonted ſtrength of body.

Many different kinds of ſerpents beſides rattleſnakes are found on theſe iſlands in Lake Erie. I killed ſeveral totally different from any that I had ever met with in any other part of the country; amongſt the number was one which I was informed was venomous in the higheſt degree: it was ſomewhat more than three feet in length; its back was perfectly black; its belly a vivid orange. I found it amongſt the rocks on Middle Iſland, and on being wounded in the tail, it turned about to defend itſelf with inconceivable fury. Mr. Carver tells of a ſerpent that is peculiar to theſe iſlands, called the hiſſing ſnake: "It is," ſays he, "of the ſmall ſpeckled kind, and about eighteen inches long. When "any thing approaches it, it flattens itſelf in a moment, and its ſpots, "which are of various dyes, become viſibly brighter through rage; at "the ſame time it blows from its mouth with great force a ſubtile "wind that is reported to be of a nauſeous ſmell, and if drawn in with "the breath of the unwary traveller will infallibly bring on a decline, "that in a few months muſt prove mortal, there being no remedy yet "diſcovered which can counteract its baneful influence." Mr. Carver does not inform us of his having himſelf ſeen this ſnake; I am tempted, therefore, to imagine, that he has been impoſed upon, and that the whole account he has given of it is fabulous. I made very particular enquiries reſpecting the exiſtence of ſuch a ſnake, from thoſe perſons who were in the habit of touching at theſe iſlands, and neither they nor any other perſon I met with in the country had ever ſeen or heard of ſuch a ſnake, except in Mr. Carver's Travels. Were a traveller to believe all the ſtories reſpecting ſnakes that are current in the country, he

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muſt believe that there is ſuch a ſnake as the whip ſnake, which, as it is ſaid, purſues cattle through the woods and meadows, laſhing them with its tail, till overcome with the fatigue of running they drop breathleſs to the ground, when it preys upon their fleſh; he muſt alſo believe that there is ſuch a ſnake as the hoop ſnake, which has the power of fixing its tail firmly in a certain cavity inſide of its mouth, and then of rolling itſelf forward like a hoop or wheel with ſuch wonderful velocity that neither man nor beaſt can poſſibly eſcape from its devouring jaws.

The ponds and marſhes in the interior parts of theſe iſlands abound with ducks and other wild fowl, and the ſhores ſwarm with gulls. A few ſmall birds are found in the woods; but I ſaw none amongſt them that were remarkable either for their ſong or plumage.

At ſun-ſet, on the laſt day of September, we left the iſlands, and the next morning entered Detroit River. The river, at its mouth, is about five miles wide, and continues nearly the ſame breadth for a conſiderable diſtance. The ſhores are of a moderate height, and thickly wooded; but there was nothing particularly intereſting in the proſpect till we arrived within four or five miles of the new Britiſh poſt. Here the banks appeared diverſified with Indian encampments and villages, and beyond them the Britiſh ſettlements were ſeen to great advantage. The river was crowded with Indian canoes and bateaux, and ſeveral pleaſure boats belonging to the officers of the garriſon, and to the traders, that had come out in expectation of meeting us, were ſeen cruizing about backwards and forwards. The two other veſſels of war, which we had left behind us at Fort Erie, as well as the trading veſſels, had overtaken us juſt as we entered the river, and we all ſailed up together with every bit of canvaſs, that we could muſter, full ſpread. The day was uncommonly clear, and the ſcene altogether was pleaſing and intereſting.

The other veſſels proceeded up the river to the Britiſh poſt; but ours, which was laden with preſents for the Indians, caſt anchor oppoſite to the habitation of the gentleman in the Indian department, whom I before mentioned, which was ſituated in the diſtrict of Malden. He gave

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us a moſt cordial invitation to ſtay at his houſe whilſt we ſhould remain in this part of the country; we gladly accepted of it, and accordingly went with him on ſhore.

LETTER XXXIII.

Deſcription of the Diſtrict of Malden.—Eſtabliſhment of a new Britiſh Poſt there.—Iſland of Bois Blanc.—Difference between the Britiſh and Americans reſpecting the Right of Poſſeſſion.—Block Houſes, how conſtructed.—Captain E—'s Farm.—Indians.—Deſcription of Detroit River, and the Country bordering upon it.—Town of Detroit.—Head Quarters of the American Army.—Officers of the Weſtern Army.—Unſucceſsful Attempt of the Americans to impreſs upon the Minds of the Indians an Idea of their Conſequence.—Of the Country round Detroit.—Doubts concerning our Route back to Philadelphia.—Determine to go by Preſqu' Iſle.—Departure from Detroit.

Malden, October.

MALDEN is a diſtrict of conſiderable extent, ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of Detroit River, about eighteen miles below the town of Detroit. At the lower end of the diſtrict there are but few houſes, and theſe ſtand very widely aſunder; but at the upper end, bordering upon the river, and adjoining to the new Britiſh poſt that has been eſtabliſhed ſince the evacuation of Detroit, a little town has been laid out, which already contains more than twenty houſes, and is rapidly increaſing. Hither ſeveral of the traders have removed who formerly reſided at Detroit. This little town has as yet received no particular name, neither has the new poſt, but they merely go under the name of the new Britiſh poſt and town near the iſland of Bois-Blanc, an iſland in the river near two miles in length, and half a mile in breadth, that lies oppoſite to Malden.

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When the evacuation of Detroit was firſt talked of, the iſland was looked to as an eligible ſituation for the new poſt, and orders were ſent to purchaſe it from the Indians, and to take poſſeſſion of it in the name of his Britannic Majeſty. Accordingly a party of troops went down for that purpoſe from Detroit; they erected a ſmall block houſe on the northern extremity of it, and left a ſerjeant's guard there for its defence. Preparations were afterwards making for building a fort on it; but in the mean time a warm remonſtrance againſt ſuch proceedings came from the government of the United States *, who inſiſted upon it that the

* Notwithſtanding that the government of the United States has thought it incumbent upon itſelf to remonſtrate againſt our taking poſſeſſion of this iſland, and thus to diſpute every inch of ground reſpecting the right to which there could not be the ſmalleſt doubt, yet the generality of the people of the States affect to talk of every ſuch ſtep as idle and unneceſſary, inaſmuch as they are fully perſuaded, in their own minds, that all the Britiſh dominions in North America muſt, ſooner or later, become a part of their empire. Thus Mr. Imlay, in his account of the north weſtern territory: "It is certain, that as "the country has been more opened in America, "and thereby the rays of the ſun have acted "more powerfully upon the earth, theſe benefits "have tended greatly to ſoften the winter ſea- "ſon; ſo that peopling Canada, for which we "are much obliged to you, is a double advan- "tage to us. Firſt, it is ſettling and populating "a country that muſt, ſooner or later, from the "natural order of things, become a part of our "empire; and ſecondly, it is immediately me- "liorating the climate of the northern ſtates," &c.

The greateſt empires that have ever appeared on the face of the globe have diſſolved in the courſe of time, and no one acquainted with hiſtory will, I take it for granted, preſume to ſay that the extended empire of Britain, all power- ful as it is at preſent, is ſo much more cloſely knit together than any other empire ever was before it, that it can never fall aſunder; Canada, I therefore ſuppoſe, may, with revolving years, be diſjointed from the mother country, as well as her other colonies; but whenever that period ſhall arrive, which I truſt is far diſtant, I am humbly of opinion that it will not form an additional knot in that extenſive union of ſtates which at preſent ſubſiſts on the continent of North America; indeed, were the Britiſh dominions in North America to be diſſevered from the other members of the empire the enſuing year, I am ſtill tempted to imagine that they would not become linked with the preſent federal American ſtates, and for the following reaſons:

Firſt, becauſe the conſtitution of the federal ſtates, which is the bond that holds them toge- ther, is not calculated for ſuch a large territory as that which the preſent ſtates, together with ſuch an addition, would conſtitute.

The conſtitution of the ſtates is that of the people, who, through their reſpective repreſen- tatives aſſembled together at ſome one place, muſt decide upon every meaſure that is to be taken for the public weal. This place, it is evident, ought in juſtice to be as central as poſſible to every ſtate; the neceſſity, indeed, of having the place ſo ſituated has been manifeſted in the building of the new federal city. Were it not for this ſtep, many of the moſt enlightened characters in the ſtates have given it as their opinion, that the union could not have remained many years entire, for the ſtates ſo far removed from the ſeat of the legiſlature, before the new city was founded, had complained grievouſly of the diſtance which their delegates had to travel to meet congreſs, and had begun to talk of the neceſſity of a ſeparation of the ſtates: and now,

the iſland was not within the limits of the Britiſh dominions. The point, it was found, would admit of ſome diſpute, and as it could not be determined immediately, the plan of building the fort was relinquiſhed for the time. The block houſe on the iſland, however, ſtill remains guarded,

on the other hand, that a central ſpot has been fixed upon, thoſe ſtates to the northward, conveniently ſituated to Philadelphia, the preſent ſeat of the federal government, ſay that the new city will be ſo far removed from them, that the ſending of delegates thither will be highly inconvenient to them, and ſo much ſo, as to call for a ſeparation of the union on their part. In a former letter I ſtated the various opinions that were entertained by the people of the United States on this ſubject, and I endeavoured to ſhew that the ſeat of congreſs would be removed to the new federal city without endangering a partition of the ſtates; but I am fully perſuaded, that were Canada to become an independent ſtate, and a place were to be fixed on central to all the ſtates, ſuppoſing her to be one, that neither ſhe, nor the ſtate at the remote oppoſite end, would long continue, if they ever did ſubmit, to ſend their delegates to a place ſo far removed, that it would require more than a fourth part of the year for them (the delegates) to travel, even with the utmoſt poſſible expedition, backward and forward, between the diſtrict which they repreſented and the ſeat of congreſs.

Secondly, I think the two Canadas will never become connected with the preſent ſtates, becauſe the people of theſe provinces, and thoſe of the adjoining ſtates, are not formed for a cloſe intimacy with each other.

The bulk of the people of Upper Canada are refugees, who were driven from the ſtates by the perſecution of the republican party; and though the thirteen years which have paſſed over have nearly extinguiſhed every ſpark of reſentment againſt the Americans in the breaſts of the people of England, yet this is by no means the caſe in Upper Canada; it is there common to hear, even from the children of the refugees, the moſt groſs invectives poured out againſt the people of the ſtates; and the people of the frontier ſtates, in their turn, are as violent againſt the refugees and their poſterity; and, indeed, whilſt Canada forms a part of the Britiſh empire, I am inclined, from what I have ſeen and heard in travelling through the country, to think that this ſpirit will not die away. In Lower Canada the ſame acrimonious temper of mind is not obſervable amongſt the people, excepting indeed in thoſe few parts of the country where the inhabited parts of the ſtates approach cloſely to thoſe of the province; but here appears to be a general diſinclination amongſt the inhabitants to have any political connection with the people of the ſtates, and the French Canadians affect to hold them in the greateſt contempt. Added to this, the prevalent language of the lower province, which has remained the ſame for almoſt forty years, notwithſtanding the great pains that have been taken to change it, and which is therefore likely to remain ſo ſtill, is another obſtacle in the way of any cloſe connection between the people of the lower province and thoſe of the ſtates. Even in conducting the affairs of the provincial legiſlative aſſembly, notwithſtanding that moſt of the Engliſh inhabitants are well acquainted with the French language, yet a conſiderable degree of difficulty is experienced from the generality of the French delegates being totally ignorant of the Engliſh language, which, as I have already mentioned, they have an unconquerable averſion againſt learning.

Thirdly, I think the Britiſh dominions in North America will never be annexed to thoſe of the ſtates, becauſe they are by nature formed for conſtituting a ſeparate independent territory.

At preſent the boundary line between the Britiſh dominions and the States runs along the river St. Croix, thence along the high lands bordering upon New England till it meets the forty-fifth parallel of north latitude, and afterwards along the ſaid parallel until it ſtrikes the River St. Lawrence, or Cataragui, or Iroquois. Now the dominions ſouth of the St. Lawrence are evidently not ſeparated from the United States by

guarded, and poſſeſſion will be kept of it until the matter in diſpute be adjudged by the commiſſioners appointed, purſuant to the late treaty, for the purpoſe of determining the exact boundaries of the Britiſh dominions in this part of the continent, which were by no means clearly aſcertained by the definitive treaty of peace between the States and Great Britain.

In this particular inſtance the diſpute ariſes reſpecting the true meaning of certain words of the treaty. "The boundary line," it ſays, "is to "run through the middle of Lake Erie until it arrive at the water com- "munication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the "middle of the ſaid water communication." The people of the States conſtrue the middle of the water communication to be the middle of the moſt approved and moſt frequented channel of the river; we, on the contrary, conſtrue it to be the middle of the river, provided there is a tolerable channel on each ſide. Now the iſland of Bois Blanc clearly lies between the middle of the river and the Britiſh main; but then the deepeſt and moſt approved channel for ſhips of burthen is between the iſland and the Britiſh ſhore. In our acceptation of the word, therefore, the iſland

by any bold determinate boundary line; I therefore ſuppoſe that they may, in ſome manner, be connected with them; but the country to the northward, bounded on the north by Hudſon's Bay, on the eaſt by the ocean, on the ſouth and weſt by the St. Lawrence, and that vaſt chain of lakes which extends to the weſtward, is ſeparated from the United States by one of the moſt remarkable boundary lines that is to be found on the face of the globe between any two countries on the ſame continent; and from being bounded in ſuch a remarkable manner, and thus detached as it were by nature from the other parts of the continent, it appears to me that it is calculated for forming a diſtinct ſeparate ſtate, or diſtinct union of ſtates, from the preſent American federal ſtates; that is, ſuppoſing, with the revolutions of time, that this arm of the Britiſh empire ſhould be ſome time or other lopped off. I confeſs it appears ſtrange to me, that any perſon ſhould ſuppoſe, after looking attentively over a map of North America, that the Britiſh dominions, ſo extenſive and ſo unconnected with them, could ever become joined in a political union with the preſent federal ſtates on the continent. There is more reaſon to imagine that the Floridas, and the Spaniſh poſſeſſions to the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi, will be united therewith; for as the rivers which flow through the Spaniſh dominions are the only channels whereby the people of ſome of the weſtern ſtates can convey the produce of their own country to the ocean with convenience, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the people of theſe ſtates will be anxious to gain poſſeſſion of theſe rivers, for which purpoſe they muſt poſſeſs themſelves of the country through which they paſs. But there are certain bounds, beyond which a repreſentative government cannot extend, and the ocean on the eaſt and ſouth, the St. Lawrence and the lakes on the north, and the Miſſiſippi on the weſt, certainly appear to ſet bounds to the juriſdiction of the government of the United States, if indeed it can extend even ſo far.

unqueſtionably belongs to us; in that of the people of the States, to them. It appears to me, that our claim in this inſtance is certainly the moſt juſt; for although the beſt and moſt commodious channel be on our ſide, yet the channel on the oppoſite ſide of the iſland is ſufficiently deep to admit through it, with perfect ſafety, the largeſt of the veſſels at preſent on the lakes, and indeed as large veſſels as are deemed ſuitable for this navigation.

Plans for a fort on the main land, and for one on the iſland of Bois Blanc, have been drawn; but as only the one fort will be erected, the building of it is poſtponed until it is determined to whom the iſland belongs: if within the Britiſh dominions, the fort will be erected on the iſland, as there is a ſtill more advantageous poſition for one there than on the main land; in the mean time a large block houſe, capable of accommodating, in every reſpect comfortably, one hundred men and officers, has been erected on the main land, around which about four acres or more of ground have been reſerved for his Majeſty's uſe, in caſe the fort ſhould not be built on the iſland.

A block houſe, which I have ſo frequently mentioned, is a building, whoſe walls are formed of thick ſquare pieces of timber. It is uſually built two ſtories high, in which caſe the upper ſtory is made to project about two or three feet beyond the walls of the lower one, and loop holes are left in the floor round the edge of it, ſo that if an attempt were made to ſtorm the houſe, the garriſon could fire directly down upon the heads of the aſſailants. Loop holes are left alſo in various parts of the walls, ſome of which are formed, as is the caſe at this new block houſe at Malden, of a ſize ſufficient to admit a ſmall cannon to be fired through them. The loop holes are furniſhed with large wooden ſtoppers or wedges, which in the winter ſeaſon, when there is no danger of an attack, are put in, and the interſtices cloſely caulked, to guard againſt the cold; and indeed, to render the houſe warm, they are obliged to take no ſmall pains in caulking the ſeams between the timber in every part. A block houſe, built on the moſt approved plan, is ſo conſtructed, that if one half of it were ſhot away, the other half would ſtand firm. Each piece of timber in the roof and walls is jointed

jointed in ſuch a manner as to be rendered independent of the next piece to it; one wall is independent of the next wall, and the roof is in a great meaſure independent of all of them, ſo that if a piece of artillery were played upon the houſe, that bit of timber alone againſt which the ball ſtruck would be diſplaced, and every other one would remain uninjured. A block houſe is proof againſt the heavieſt fire of muſquetry. As theſe houſes may be erected in a very ſhort time, and as there is ſuch an abundance of timber in every part of the country, wherewith to build them, they are met with in North America at almoſt every military outpoſt, and indeed in almoſt every fortreſs throughout the country. There are ſeveral in the upper town of Quebec.

Amongſt the ſcattered houſes at the lower end of the diſtrict of Malden, there are ſeveral of a reſpectable appearance, and the farms adjoining to them are very conſiderable. The farm belonging to our friend, Captain E——, under whoſe roof we tarry, contains no leſs than two thouſand acres. A very large part of it is cleared, and it is cultivated in a ſtyle which would not be thought meanly of even in England. His houſe, which is the beſt in the whole diſtrict, is agreeably ſituated, at the diſtance of about two hundred yards from the river; there is a full view of the river, and of the iſland of Bois Blanc, from the parlour windows, and the ſcene is continually enlivened by the number of Indian canoes that paſs and repaſs before it. In front of the houſe there is a neat little lawn, paled in, and ornamented with clumps of trees, at the bottom of which, not far from the water, ſtands a large Indian wigwam, called the council houſe, in which the Indians are aſſembled whenever there are any affairs of importance to be tranſacted between them and the officers in the Indian department. Great numbers of theſe people come from the iſland of Bois Blanc, where no leſs than five hundred families of them are encamped, to viſit us daily; and we in our turn go frequently to the iſland, to have an opportunity of obſerving their native manners and cuſtoms.

Our friend has told them, that we have croſſed the big lake, the Atlantic, on purpoſe to come and ſee them. This circumſtance has given them a very favourable opinion of us; they approve highly of the undertaking, and

ſay

ſay that we have employed our time to a good purpoſe. No people on earth have a higher opinion of their own conſequence; indeed, they eſteem themſelves ſuperior to every other race of men.

We remained for a ſhort time in Malden, and then ſet off for Detroit in a neat little pleaſure boat, which one of the traders obligingly lent to us. The river between the two places varies in breadth from two miles to half a mile. The banks are moſtly very low, and in ſome places large marſhes extend along the ſhores, and far up into the country. The ſhores are adorned with rich timber of various kinds, and bordering upon the marſhes, where the trees have full ſcope to extend their branches, the woodland ſcenery is very fine. Amidſt the marſhes, the river takes ſome very conſiderable bends, and it is diverſified at the ſame time with ſeveral large iſlands, which occaſion a great diverſity of proſpect.

Beyond Malden no houſes are to be ſeen on either ſide of the river, except indeed the few miſerable little huts in the Indian villages, until you come within four miles or thereabouts of Detroit. Here the ſettlements are very numerous on both ſides, but particularly on that belonging to the Britiſh. The country abounds with peach, apple, and cherry orchards, the richeſt I ever beheld; in many of them the trees, loaded with large apples of various dies, appeared bent down into the very water. They have many different ſorts of excellent apples in this part of the country, but there is one far ſuperior to all the reſt, and which is held in great eſtimation, called the pomme caille; I do not recollect to have ſeen it in any other part of the world, though doubtleſs it is not peculiar to this neighbourhood. It is of an extraordinary large ſize, and deep red colour; not confined merely to the ſkin, but extending to the very core of the apple: if the ſkin be taken off delicately, the fruit appears nearly as red as when entire. We could not reſiſt the temptation of ſtopping at the firſt of theſe orchards we came to, and for a few pence we were allowed to lade our boat with as much fruit as we could well carry away. The peaches were nearly out of ſeaſon now, but from the few I taſted, I ſhould ſuppoſe that they were of a good kind, far ſuperior in flavour, ſize, and juicineſs to thoſe commonly met with in the orchards of the middle ſtates.

The

The houſes in this part of the country are all built in a ſimilar ſtyle to thoſe in Lower Canada; the lands are laid out and cultivated alſo ſimilarly to thoſe in the lower province; the manners and perſons of the inhabitants are the ſame; French is the predominant language, and the traveller may fancy for a moment, if he pleaſes, that he has been wafted by enchantment back again into the neighbourhood of Montreal or Three Rivers. All the principal poſts throughout the weſtern country, along the lakes, the Ohio, the Illinois, &c. were eſtabliſhed by the French; but except at Detroit and in the neighbourhood, and in the Illinois country, the French ſettlers have become ſo blended with the greater number who ſpoke Engliſh, that their language has every where died away.

Detroit contains about three hundred houſes, and is the largeſt town in the weſtern country. It ſtands contiguous to the river, on the top of the banks, which are here about twenty feet high. At the bottom of them there are very extenſive wharfs for the accommodation of the ſhipping, built of wood, ſimilar to thoſe in the Atlantic ſea-ports. The town conſiſts of ſeveral ſtreets that run parallel to the river, which are interſected by others at right angles. They are all very narrow, and not being paved, dirty in the extreme whenever it happens to rain; for the accommodation of paſſengers, however, there are footways in moſt of them, formed of ſquare logs, laid tranſverſely cloſe to each other. The town is ſurrounded by a ſtrong ſtockade, through which there are four gates; two of them open to the wharfs, and the two others to the north and ſouth ſide of the town reſpectively. The gates are defended by ſtrong block houſes, and on the weſt ſide of the town is a ſmall fort in form of a ſquare, with baſtions at the angles. At each of the corners of this fort is planted a ſmall field-piece, and theſe conſtitute the whole of the ordnance at preſent in the place. The Britiſh kept a conſiderable train of artillery here, but the place was never capable of holding out for any length of time againſt a regular force: the fortifications, indeed, were conſtructed chiefly as a defence againſt the Indians.

Detroit is at preſent the head-quarters of the weſtern army of the States; the garriſon conſiſts of three hundred men, who are quartered in barracks. Very little attention is paid by the officers to the minutiæ of diſcipline, ſo that however well the men may have acquitted themſelves in the field, they make but a poor appearance on parade. The belles of the town are quite au deſeſpoir at the late departure of the Britiſh troops, though the American officers tell them they have no reaſon to be ſo, as they will find them much more ſenſible agreeable men than the Britiſh officers when they know them, a ſtyle of converſation, which, ſtrange as it may appear to us, is yet not all uncommon amongſt them. Three months, however, have not altered the firſt opinion of the ladies. I cannot better give you an idea of the unpoliſhed, coarſe, diſcordant manners of the generality of the officers of the weſtern army of the States, than by telling you, that they cannot agree ſufficiently amongſt themſelves to form a regimental meſs; repeated attempts have been made ſince their arrival at Detroit to eſtabliſh one, but their frequent quarrels would never ſuffer it to remain permanent. A duelliſt and an officer of the weſtern army were nearly ſynonimous terms, at one period, in the United States, owing to the very great number of duels that took place amongſt them when cantoned at Grenville.

About two thirds of the inhabitants of Detroit are of French extraction, and the greater part of the inhabitants of the ſettlements on the river, both above and below the town, are of the ſame deſcription. The former are moſtly engaged in trade, and they all appear to be much on an equality. Detroit is a place of very conſiderable trade; there are no leſs than twelve trading veſſels belonging to it, brigs, ſloops, and ſchooners, of from fifty to one hundred tons burthen each. The inland navigation in this quarter is indeed very extenſive, Lake Erie, three hundred miles in length, being open to veſſels belonging to the port, on the one ſide; and lakes Michigan and Huron, the firſt upwards of two hundred miles in length, and ſixty in breadth, and the ſecond, no leſs than one thouſand miles in circumference, on the oppoſite ſide; not to ſpeak of Lake St. Clair and Detroit River, which connect theſe former lakes together, or of the many large rivers which fall into them.

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The ſtores and ſhops in the town are well furniſhed, and you may buy fine cloth, linen, &c. and every article of wearing apparel, as good in their kind, and nearly on as reaſonable terms, as you can purchaſe them at New York or Philadelphia.

The inhabitants are well ſupplied with proviſions of every deſcription; the fiſh in particular, caught in the river and neighbouring lakes, are of a very ſuperior quality. The fiſh held in moſt eſtimation is a ſort of large trout, called the Michillimakinac white fiſh, from its being caught moſtly in the ſtraits of that name. The inhabitants of Detroit and the neighbouring country, however, though they have proviſions in plenty, are frequently much diſtreſſed for one very neceſſary concomitant, namely, ſalt. Until within a ſhort time paſt they had no ſalt but what was brought from Europe; but ſalt ſprings have been diſcovered in various parts of the country, from which they are now beginning to manufacture that article for themſelves. The beſt and moſt profitable of the ſprings are retained in the hands of government, and the profits ariſing from the ſale of the ſalt are to be paid into the treaſury of the province. Throughout the weſtern country they procure their ſalt from ſprings, ſome of which throw up ſufficient water to yield ſeveral hundred buſhels in the courſe of one week.

There is a large Roman catholic church in the town of Detroit, and another on the oppoſite ſide, called the Huron church, from its having been devoted to the uſe of the Huron Indians. The ſtreets of Detroit are generally crowded with Indians of one tribe or other, and amongſt them you ſee numberleſs old ſquaws leading about their daughters, ever ready to diſpoſe of them, pro tempore, to the higheſt bidder. At night all the Indians, except ſuch as get admittance into private houſes, and remain there quietly, are turned out of the town, and the gates ſhut upon them.

The American officers here have endeavoured to their utmoſt to impreſs upon the minds of the Indians an idea of their own ſuperiority over the Britiſh; but as they are very tardy in giving theſe people any preſents, they do not pay much attention to their words. General Wayne, from continually promiſing them preſents, but at the ſame time always

poſtponing the delivery when they come to aſk for them, has ſignificantly been nicknamed by them, General Wabang, that is General To-morrow.

The country around Detroit is very much cleared, and ſo likewiſe is that on the Britiſh ſide of the river for a conſiderable way above the town. The ſettlements extend nearly as far as Lake Huron; but beyond the River La Trenche, which falls into Lake St. Clair, they are ſcattered very thinly along the ſhores. The banks of the River La Trenche, or Thames, as it is now called, are increaſing very faſt in population, as I before mentioned, owing to the great emigration thither of people from the neighbourhood of Niagara, and of Detroit alſo ſince it has been evacuated by the Britiſh. We made an excurſion, one morning in our little boat as far as Lake St. Clair, but met with nothing, either amongſt the inhabitants, or in the face of the country, particularly deſerving of mention. The country round Detroit is uncommonly flat, and in none of the rivers is there a fall ſufficient to turn even a griſt mill. The current of Detroit River itſelf is ſtronger than that of any others, and a floating mill was once invented by a Frenchman, which was chained in the middle of that river, where it was thought the ſtream would be ſufficiently ſwift to turn the water wheel: the building of it was attended with conſiderable expence to the inhabitants, but after it was finiſhed it by no means anſwered their expectations. They grind their corn at preſent by wind mills, which I do not remember to have ſeen in any other part of North America.

The ſoil of the country bordering upon Detroit River is rich though light, and it produces good crops both of Indian corn and wheat. The climate is much more healthy than that of the country in the neighbourhood of Niagara River; intermittent fevers however are by no means uncommon diſorders. The ſummers are intenſely hot, Fahrenheit's thermometer often riſing above 100; yet a winter ſeldom paſſes over but what ſnow remains on the ground for two or three months.

Whilſt we remained at Detroit, we had to determine upon a point of ſome moment to us travellers, namely, upon the route by which to return back towards the Atlantic. None of us felt much inclined to croſs the lake

again

again to Fort Erie, we at once therefore laid aſide all thoughts of returning that way. Two other routes then preſented themſelves for our conſideration; the one was to proceed by land from Detroit, through the north weſtern territory of the United States, as far as the head waters of ſome one of the rivers which fall into the Ohio, having reached which, we might afterwards have proceeded upwards or downwards, as we found moſt expedient; the other was to croſs by water to Preſqu' Iſle, on the ſouth ſide of Lake Erie, and thence go down French Creek and the Alleghany River, as far as Pittſburgh on the Ohio, where being arrived we ſhould likewiſe have had the choice of deſcending the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi, or of going on to Philadelphia, through Pennſylvania, according as we ſhould find circumſtances moſt convenient. The firſt of theſe routes was moſt ſuited to our inclination, but we ſoon found that we muſt give over all thoughts of proceeding by it. The way to have proceeded would have been to ſet out on horſeback, taking with us ſufficient proviſions to laſt for a journey through a foreſt of upwards of two hundred miles in length, and truſting our horſes to the food which they could pick up for themſelves amongſt the buſhes. There was no poſſibility of procuring horſes, however, for hire at Detroit or in the neighbourhood, and had we purchaſed them, which could not have been done but at a moſt exorbitant price, we ſhould have found it a difficult matter perhaps to have got rid of them when we had ended our land journey, unleſs indeed we choſe to turn them adrift in the woods, which would not have been perfectly ſuitable to our finances. But independent of this conſideration there was another obſtacle in our way, and that was the difficulty of procuring guides. The Indians were all preparing to ſet out on their hunting excurſions, and had we even been able to have procured a party of them for an eſcort, there would have been ſome riſk, we were told, of their deſerting us before we reached our journey's end. If they fell in on their journey with a hunting party that had been very ſucceſsful; if they came to a place where there was great abundance of game; or, in ſhort, if we did not proceed juſt according to their fancy, impatient of every reſtraint, and without caring in the leaſt for the hire we had promiſed them, they would, perhaps,

haps, leave us in the whim of moment to ſhift for ourſelves in the woods, a ſituation we had no deſire to ſee ourſelves reduced to; we determined therefore to proceed by Prefqu' Iſle. But now another difficulty aroſe, namely, how we were to get there: a ſmall veſſel, a very unuſual cumſtance indeed, was juſt about to ſail, but it was ſo crowded with paſſengers, that there was not a ſingle birth vacant, and moreover, if there had been, we did not wiſh to depart ſo abruptly from this part of the country. One of the principal traders, however, at Detroit, to whom we had carried letters, ſoon accommodated matters to our ſatisfaction, by promiſing to give orders to the maſter of one of the lake-veſſels, of which he was in part owner, to land us at that place. The veſſel was to ſail in a fortnight; we immediately therefore ſecured a paſſage in her, and having ſettled with the maſter that he ſhould call for us at Malden, we ſet off once more for that place in our little boat, and in a few hours, from the time we quitted Detroit, arrived there.

LETTER XXXIV.

Preſents delivered to the Indians on the Part of the Britiſh Government.—Mode of diſtributing them.—Reaſons why given.—What is the beſt Method of conciliating the good Will of the Indians.—Little pains taken by the Americans to keep up a good Underſtanding with the Indians.—Conſequences thereof.—War between the Americans and Indians.—A brief Account of it.—Peace concluded by General Wayne.—Not likely to remain permanent.—Why.—Indian Manner of making Peace deſcribed.

Malden, October.

ADJOINING to our friend's houſe at Malden ſtands an extenſive range of ſtorehouſes, for the reception of the preſents yearly made by government to the Indians in this part of the country, in which ſeveral clerks are kept conſtantly employed. Before we had been long at Malden we had an opportunity of ſeeing ſome of the preſents

ſents delivered out. A number of chiefs of different tribes had previouſly come to our friend, who is at the head of the department in this quarter, and had given to him, each, a bundle of little bits of cedar wood, about the thickneſs of a ſmall pocket book pencil, to remind him of the exact number of individuals in each tribe that expected to ſhare the bounty of their great father. The ſticks in theſe bundles were of different lengths, the longeſt denoted the number of warriors in the tribe, the next in ſize the number of women, and the ſmalleſt the number of children. Our friend on receiving them handed them over to his clerks, who made a memorandum in their books of the contents of each bundle, and of the perſons that gave them, in order to prepare the preſents accordingly. The day fixed upon for the delivery of the preſents was bright and fair, and being in every reſpect favourable for the purpoſe, the clerks began to make the neceſſary arrangements accordingly.

A number of large ſtakes were firſt fixed down in different parts of the lawn, to each of which was attached a label, with the name of the tribe, and the number of perſons in it, who were to be provided for; then were brought out from the ſtores ſeveral bales of thick blankets, of blue, ſcarlet, and brown cloth, and of coarſe figured cottons, together with large rolls of tobacco, guns, flints, powder, balls, ſhot, caſe-knives, ivory and horn combs, looking-glaſſes, pipe-tomahawks, hatchets, ſciſſars, needles, vermilion in bags, copper and iron pots and kettles, the whole valued at about £. 500 ſterling. The bales of goods being opened, the blankets, cloths, and cottons were cut up into ſmall pieces, each ſufficient to make for one perſon a wrapper, a ſhirt, a pair of leggings, or whatever elſe it was intended for; and the portions of the different articles intended for each tribe were thrown together in a heap, at the bottom of the ſtake which bore its name. This buſineſs took up ſeveral hours, as there were no leſs than four hundred and twenty Indians to be ſerved. No liquor, nor any ſilver ornaments, except to favourite chiefs in private, are ever given on the part of government to the Indians, notwithſtanding they are ſo fond of both; and a trader who attempts to give theſe articles to them in exchange for the preſents they have

have received from government, or, indeed, who takes from them, on any conditions, their preſents, is liable to a very heavy penalty for every ſuch act, by the laws of the province.

The preſents having been all prepared, the chiefs were ordered to aſſemble their warriors, who were loitering about the grounds at the outſide of the lawn. In a few minutes they all came, and having been drawn up in a large circle, our friend delivered a ſpeech on the occaſion, without which ceremony no buſineſs, according to Indian cuſtom, is ever tranſacted. In this they were told, "That their great and good father, who lived on the oppoſite ſide of the big lake (meaning thereby the king) was ever attentive to the happineſs of all his faithful people; and that, with his accuſtomed bounty, he had ſent the preſents which now lay before them to his good children the Indians; that he had ſent the guns, the hatchets, and the ammunition for the young men, and the clothing for the aged, women, and children; that he hoped the young men would have no occaſion to employ their weapons in fighting againſt enemies, but merely in hunting; and that he recommended it to them to be attentive to the old, and to ſhare bountifully with them what they gained by the chace; that he truſted the great ſpirit would give them bright ſuns and clear ſkies, and a favourable ſeaſon for hunting; and that when another year ſhould paſs over, if he ſtill continued to find them good children, he would not fail to renew his bounties, by ſending them more preſents from acroſs the big lake.

This ſpeech was delivered in Engliſh, but interpreters attended, who repeated it to the different tribes in their reſpective languages, paragraph by paragraph, at the end of every one of which the Indians ſignified their ſatisfaction by a loud coarſe exclamation of "Hoah! Hoah!" The ſpeech ended, the chiefs were called forward, and their ſeveral heaps were ſhewn to them, and committed to their care. They received them with thanks, and beckoning to their warriors, a number of young men quickly ſtarted from the crowd, and in leſs than three minutes the preſents were conveyed from the lawn, and laden on board the canoes, in waiting to convey them to the iſland and adjacent villages. The utmoſt regularity and propriety was manifeſted on this

occaſion in the behaviour of every Indian; there was not the ſmalleſt wrangling amongſt them about their preſents; nor was the leaſt ſpark of jealouſy obſervable in any one tribe about what the other had received; each one took up the heap allotted to it, and departed without ſpeaking a word.

Beſides the preſents, ſuch as I have deſcribed, others of a different nature again, namely, proviſions, were dealt out this year amongſt certain tribes of the Indians that were encamped on the iſland of Bois Blanc. Theſe were ſome of the tribes that had been at war with the people of the United States, whoſe villages, fields of corn, and ſtores of proviſions had been totally deſtroyed during the conteſt by General Wayne, and who having been thereby bereft of every means of ſupport, had come, as ſoon as peace was concluded, to beg for ſubſiſtence from their good friends the Britiſh. "Our enemies," ſaid they, "have deſtroyed our villages and ſtores of proviſions; our women "and children are left without food; do you then, who call yourſelves "our friends, ſhew us now that you really are ſo, and give them food "to eat till the ſun ripens our corn, and the great ſpirit gives another "proſperous ſeaſon for hunting." Their requeſt was at once complied with; a large ſtorehouſe was erected on the iſland, and filled with proviſions at the expence of government for their uſe, and regularly twice a week the clerks in the Indian department went over to diſtribute them. About three barrels of ſalted pork or beef, as many of flour, beans or peas, Indian corn, and about two carcaſes of freſh beef, were generally given out each time. Theſe articles of proviſion the Indians received, not in the thankful manner in which they did the other preſents, but ſeemingly as if they were due to them of right. One nation they think ought never to heſitate about giving relief to another in diſtreſs, provided it was not at enmity with it; and indeed, were their white brethren, the Britiſh, to be reduced by any calamity to a ſimilar ſtate of diſtreſs, the Indians would with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs ſhare with them their proviſions to the very laſt.

The preſents delivered to the Indians, together with the fabrics of the officers in the Indian department, are computed to coſt the crown,

as

as I before mentioned, about £.100,000 ſterling, on an average, per annum. When we firſt gained poſſeſſion of Canada, the expence of the preſents was much greater, as the Indians were then more numerous, and as it was alſo found neceſſary to beſtow upon them, individually, much larger preſents than are now given, in order to overcome the violent prejudices againſt us which had been inſtilled into their minds by the French. Theſe prejudices having happily been removed, and the utmoſt harmony having been eſtabliſhed between them and the people on our frontiers, preſents of a leſs value even than what are now diſtributed amongſt them would perhaps be found ſufficient to keep up that good underſtanding which now ſubſiſts between us; it could not, however, be deemed a very adviſable meaſure to curtail them, as long as a poſſibility remained that the loſs of their friendſhip might be incurred thereby; and, indeed, when we conſider what a happy and numerous people the Indians were before Europeans intruded themſelves into the territories allotted to them by nature; when we conſider how many thouſands have periſhed in battle, embroiled in our conteſts for power and dominion, and how many thouſands more have periſhed by the uſe of the poiſonous beverages which we have introduced amongſt them; when we conſider how many artificial wants have been raiſed in the minds of the few nations of them that yet remain, and how ſadly the morals of theſe nations have been corrupted by their intercourſe with the whites; when we conſider, finally, that in the courſe of fifty years more no veſtige even of theſe once virtuous and amiable people will probably be found in the whole of that extenſive territory which lies between the Miſſiſſippi and the Atlantic, and was formerly inhabited ſolely by them; inſtead of wiſhing to leſſen the value or the number of the few trifles that we find are acceptable to them in their preſent ſtate, we ought rather to be deſirous of contributing ſtill more largely to their comfort and happineſs.

Acceptable preſents are generally found very efficacious in conciliating the affections of any uncivilized nation: they have very great influence over the minds of the Indians; but to conciliate their affections to the utmoſt, preſents alone are not ſufficient; you muſt appear to have their intereſt

intereſt at heart in every reſpect; you muſt aſſociate with them; you muſt treat them as men that are your equals, and, in ſome meaſure, even adopt their native manners. It was by ſuch ſteps as theſe that the French, when they had poſſeſſion of Canada, gained their favour in ſuch a very eminent manner, and acquired ſo wonderful an aſcendency over them. The old Indians ſtill ſay, that they never were ſo happy as when the French had poſſeſſion of the country; and, indeed, it is a very remarkable fact, which I before mentioned, that the Indians, if they are ſick, if they are hungry, if they want ſhelter from a ſtorm, or the like, will always go to the houſes of the old French ſettlers in preference to thoſe of the Britiſh inhabitants. The neceſſity of treating the Indians with reſpect and attention is ſtrongly inculcated on the minds of the Engliſh ſettlers, and they endeavour to act accordingly; but ſtill they cannot baniſh wholly from their minds, as the French do, the idea that the Indians are an inferior race of people to them, to which circumſtance is to be attributed the predilection of the Indians for the French rather than them; they all live together, however, on very amicable terms, and many of the Engliſh on the frontiers have indeed told me, that if they were but half as honeſt, and half as well conducted towards one another, as the Indians are towards them, the ſtate of ſociety in the country would be truly enviable.

On the frontiers of the United States little pains have hitherto been taken by the government, and no pains by the people, to gain the good will of the Indians; and the latter, inſtead of reſpecting the Indians as an independent neighbouring nation, have in too many inſtances violated their rights as men in the moſt flagrant manner. The conſequence has been, that the people on the frontiers have been involved in all the calamities that they could have ſuffered from an avengeful and cruel enemy. Nightly murders, robberies, maſſacres, and conflagrations have been common. They have hardly ventured to ſtir, at times, beyond the walls of their little habitations; and for whole nights together have they been kept on the watch, in arms, to reſiſt the onſet of the Indians. They have never dared to viſit their neighbours unarmed, nor to proceed alone, in open day, on a journey of

a few miles. The gazettes of the United States have daily teemed with the ſhocking accounts of the barbarities committed by the Indians, and volumes would ſcarcely ſuffice to tell the whole of the dreadful tales.

It has been ſaid by perſons of the States, that the Indians were countenanced in committing theſe enormities by people on the Britiſh frontiers, and liberal abuſe has been beſtowed on the government for having aided, by diſtributing amongſt them guns, tomahawks, and other hoſtile weapons. That the Indians were incited by preſents, and other means, to act againſt the people of the colonies, during the American war, muſt be admitted; but that, after peace was concluded, the ſame line of conduct was purſued towards them, is an aſperſion equally falſe and malicious. To the conduct of the people of the States themſelves alone, and to no other cauſe, is unqueſtionably to be attributed the continuance of the warfare between them and the Indians, after the definitive treaty of peace was ſigned. Inſtead of then taking the opportunity to reconcile the Indians, as they might eaſily have done by preſents, and by treating them with kindneſs, they ſtill continued hoſtile towards them; they looked upon them, as indeed they ſtill do, merely as wild beaſts, that ought to be baniſhed from the face of the earth; and actuated by that inſatiable ſpirit of avarice, and that reſtleſs and diſſatisfied turn of mind, which I have ſo frequently noticed, inſtead of keeping within their territories, where millions of acres remained unoccupied, but no part, however, of which could be had without being paid for, they croſſed their boundary lines, and fixed themſelves in the territory of the Indians, without ever previouſly gaining the conſent of theſe people. The Indians, nice about their boundary line beyond any other nations, perhaps, in the world, that have ſuch extenſive dominions in proportion to their numbers, made no ſcruple to attack, to plunder, and even to murder theſe intruders, when a fit opportunity offered. The whites endeavoured to repel their attacks, and ſhot them with as much unconcern as they would either a wolf or a bear. In their expeditions againſt the white ſettlers, the Indians frequently were driven back with loſs; but their ill ſucceſs only urged them to return with redoubled fury, and their

their well known revengeful diſpoſition leading them on all occaſions to ſeek blood for blood, they were not merely ſatisfied with murdering the whole families of the ſettlers who had wounded or killed their chiefs or warriors, but oftentimes, in order to appeaſe the manes of their comrades, they croſſed their boundary line in turn, and committed moſt dreadful depredations amongſt the peaceable white inhabitants in the States, who were in no manner implicated in the ill conduct of the men who had encroached upon the Indian territories. Here alſo, if they happened to be repulſed, or to loſe a friend, they returned to ſeek freſh revenge; and as it ſeldom happened that they did eſcape without loſs, their exceſſes and barbarities, inſtead of diminiſhing, were becoming greater every year. The attention of the government was at laſt directed towards the melancholy ſituation of the ſettlers on the frontiers, and the reſult was, that congreſs determined that an army ſhould be raiſed, at the expence of the States, to repel the foe.

An army was accordingly raiſed ſome time about the year 1790, which was put under the command of General St. Clair. It conſiſted of about fifteen hundred men; but theſe were not men that had been accuſtomed to contend againſt Indians, nor was the general, although an experienced officer, and well able to conduct an army againſt a regular force, at all qualified, as many perſons had foreſeen, and the event proved, to command on an expedition of ſuch a nature as he was now about to be engaged in.

St. Clair advanced with his army into the Indian territory; occaſional ſkirmiſhes took place, but the Indians ſtill kept retreating before him, as if incapable of making any reſiſtance againſt ſuch a powerful force. Forgetful of the ſtratagems of the artful enemy he had to contend with, he boldly followed, till at laſt, having been drawn far into their territory, and to a ſpot ſuitable to their purpoſe, the Indians attacked him on all ſides; his men were thrown into confuſion; in vain he attempted to rally them. The Indians, emboldened by the diſorder they ſaw in his ranks, came ruſhing down with their tomahawks and ſcalping knives. A dreadful havoc enſued. The greater part of the army was left dead on the fatal field; and of thoſe that eſcaped the knife, the

moſt were taken priſoners. All the cannon, ammunition, baggage, and horſes of St. Clair's army fell into the hands of the Indians on this occaſion.

A great many young Canadians, and in particular many that were born of Indian women, fought on the ſide of the Indians in this action, a circumſtance which confirmed the people of the States in the opinion they had previouſly formed, that the Indians were encouraged and abetted in their attacks upon them by the Britiſh. I can ſafely affirm, however, from having converſed with many of theſe young men who fought againſt St. Clair, that it was with the utmoſt ſecrecy they left their homes to join the Indians, fearful leſt the government ſhould cenſure their conduct; and that in eſpouſing the quarrel of the Indians, they were actuated by a deſire to aſſiſt a people whom they conceived to be injured, more than by an unextinguiſhed ſpirit of reſentment againſt men, whom they had formerly viewed in the light of rebels.

As the revenge of the Indians was completely glutted by this victory over St. Clair, it is not improbable, but that if pains had been taken immediately to negociate a peace with them, it might have been obtained on eaſy terms; and had the boundary line then determinately agreed upon been faithfully obſerved afterwards by the people of the States, there is great reaſon to imagine that the peace would have been a permanent one. As this, however, was a queſtionable meaſure, and the general opinion was, that a peace could be made on better terms if preceded by a victory on the part of the States, it was determined to raiſe another army. Liberal ſupplies for that purpoſe were granted by congreſs, and three thouſand men were ſoon collected together.

Great pains were taken to enliſt for this new army men from Kentucky, and other parts of the frontiers, who had been accuſtomed to the Indian mode of fighting; and a ſufficient number of rifle-men from the frontier were collected, to form a very large regiment. The command of the new army was given to the late General Wayne. Upon being appointed to it, his firſt care was to introduce ſtrict diſcipline amongſt his troops; he afterwards kept the army in motion on the frontier, but he did not attempt to penetrate far into the Indian country, nor

to

to take any offenſive meaſures againſt the enemy for ſome time. This delay the general conceived would be attended with two great advantages; firſt, it would ſerve to baniſh from the minds of his men all recollection of the defeat of the late army; and ſecondly, it would afford him an opportunity of training perfectly to the Indian mode of fighting ſuch of his men as were ignorant of it; for he ſaw no hopes of ſucceſs but in fighting the Indians in their own way.

When the men were ſufficiently trained he advanced, but it was with the utmoſt caution. He ſeldom proceeded farther than twelve miles in one day; the march was always ended by noon, and the afternoon was regularly employed in throwing up ſtrong intrenchments round the camp, in order to ſecure the army from any ſudden attack; and the ſpot that had been thus fortified on one day was never totally abandoned until a new encampment had been made on the enſuing one. Moreover, ſtrong poſts were eſtabliſhed at the diſtance of forty miles, or thereabouts, from each other, in which guards were left, in order to enſure a ſafe retreat to the army in caſe it ſhould not be ſucceſsful. As he advanced, General Wayne ſent detachments of his army to deſtroy all the Indian villages that were near him, and on theſe occaſions the deepeſt ſtratagems were made uſe of. In ſome inſtances his men threw off their clothes, and by painting their bodies, diſguiſed themſelves ſo as to reſemble Indians in every reſpect, then approaching as friends, they committed dreadful havoc. Skirmiſhes alſo frequently took place, on the march, with the Indians who hovered round the army. Theſe terminated with various ſucceſs, but moſtly in favour of the Americans; as in their conduct, the knowledge and diſcipline of regular troops were combined with all the cunning and ſtratagem of their antagoniſts.

All this time the Indians kept retreating, as they had done formerly before St. Clair; and without being able to bring on a deciſive engagement, General Wayne proceeded even to the Miami of the Lakes, ſo called in contradiſtinction to another River Miami, which empties itſelf into the Ohio. Here it was that that curious correſpondence in reſpect to Fort Miami took place, the ſubſtance of which was related in moſt of the Engliſh and American prints, and by which General Wayne expoſed himſelf

himſelf to the cenſure of many of his countrymen, and General, then Colonel Campbell, who commanded in the fort, gained the public thanks of the traders in London.

The Miami Fort, ſituated on the river of the ſame name, was built by the Engliſh in the year 1793, at which time there was ſome reaſon to imagine that the diſputes exiſting between Great Britain and the United States would not have been quite ſo amicably ſettled, perhaps, as they have been; at leaſt that doubtleſs muſt have been the opinion of government, otherwiſe they would not have given orders for the conſtruction of a fort within the boundary line of the United States, a circumſtance which could not fail to excite the indignation of the people thereof. General Wayne, it would appear, had received no poſitive orders from his government to make himſelf maſter of it: could he have gained poſſeſſion of it, however, by a coup-de-main, without incurring any loſs, he thought that it could not but have been deemed an acceptable piece of ſervice by the public, from whom he ſhould have received unbounded applauſe. Vanity was his ruling paſſion, and actuated by it on this occaſion, he reſolved to try what he could do to obtain poſſeſſion of the fort. Colonel Campbell, however, by his ſpirited and manly anſwer to the ſummons that was ſent him, to ſurrender the fort on account of its being ſituated within the boundary line of the States, ſoon convinced the American general that he was not to be ſhaken by his remonſtrances or intimidated by his menaces, and that his two hundred men, who compoſed the garriſon, had ſufficient reſolution to reſiſt the attacks of his army of three thouſand, whenever he thought proper to march againſt the fort. The main diviſion of the American army, at this time, lay at the diſtance of about four miles from the fort; a ſmall detachment from it, however, was concealed in the woods at a very little diſtance from the fort, to be ready at the call of General Wayne, who, ſtrange to tell, when he found he was not likely to get poſſeſſion of it in conſequence of the ſummons he ſent, was ſo imprudent, and departed ſo much from the dignity of the general and the character of the ſoldier, as to ride up to the fort, and to uſe the moſt groſs and illiberal language to the Britiſh ſoldiers on duty in it. His object in doing ſo was, I ſhould ſuppoſe, to

provoke the garriſon to fire upon him, in which caſe he would have had a pretext for ſtorming the fort.

Owing to the great prudence, however, of Colonel Campbell, who had iſſued the ſtricteſt orders to his men and officers to remain ſilent, notwithſtanding any inſults that were offered to them, and not to attempt to fire, unleſs indeed an actual attack were made on the place, Wayne's plan was fruſtrated, much bloodſhed certainly ſaved, and a ſecond war between Great Britain and America perhaps averted.

General Wayne gained no great perſonal honour by his conduct on this occaſion; but the circumſtance of his having appeared before the Britiſh fort in the manner he did operated ſtrongly in his favour in reſpect to his proceedings againſt the Indians. Theſe people had been taught to believe by the young Canadians that were amongſt them, that if any part of the American army appeared before the fort, it would certainly be fired upon; for they had no idea that the Americans would have come in ſight of it without taking offenſive meaſures, in which caſe reſiſtance would certainly have been made. When, therefore, it was heard that General Wayne had not been fired upon, the Indians complained grievouſly of their having been deceived, and were greatly diſheartened on finding that they were to receive no aſſiſtance from the Britiſh. Their native courage, however, did not altogether forſake them; they reſolved ſpeedily to make a ſtand, and accordingly having choſen their ground, awaited the arrival of General Wayne, who followed them cloſely.

Preparatory to the day on which they expected a general engagement, the Indians, contrary to the uſages of moſt nations, obſerve a ſtrict faſt; nor does this abſtinence from all ſorts of food diminiſh their exertions in the field, as from their early infancy they accuſtom themſelves to faſting for long periods together. The day before General Wayne was expected, this ceremony was ſtrictly attended to, and afterwards, having placed themſelves in ambuſh in the woods, they waited for his arrival. He did not, however, come to the ground on the day that they had imagined, from the reports given them by their ſcouts of his motions, he would have done; but having reaſon to think he would come on the

ſubſequent

ſubſequent day, they did not move from their ambuſh. The ſecond day paſſed over without his drawing nearer to them; but fully perſuaded that he would come up with them on the next, they ſtill lay concealed in the ſame place. The third day proved to be extremely rainy and tempeſtuous, and the ſcouts having brought word, that from the movements General Wayne had made there was no likelihood of his marching towards them that day, the Indians, now hungry after having faſted for three entire days, determined to riſe from their ambuſh in order to take ſome refreſhment. They accordingly did ſo, and having no ſuſpicion of an attack, began to eat their food in ſecurity.

Before they began to eat, the Indians had divided themſelves, I muſt obſerve, into three diviſions, in order to march to another quarter, where they hoped to ſurpriſe the army of the States. In this ſituation, however, they were themſelves ſurpriſed by General Wayne. He had received intelligence from his ſcouts, now equally cunning with thoſe of the Indians, of their proceedings, and having made ſome motions as if he intended to move to another part of the country, in order to put them off their guard, he ſuddenly turned, and ſent his light horſe pouring down on them when they leaſt expected it. The Indians were thrown into confuſion, a circumſtance which with them never fails to occaſion a defeat; they made but a faint reſiſtance, and then fled with precipitancy.

On his arrival at Philadelphia, in the beginning of the year 1796, I was introduced to General Wayne, and I had then an opportunity of ſeeing the plan of all his Indian campaigns. A moſt pompous account was given of this victory, and the plan of it excited, as indeed it well might, the wonder and admiration of all the old officers who ſaw it. The Indians were repreſented as drawn up in three lines, one behind the other, and after receiving with firmneſs the charge of the American army, as endeavouring with great ſkill and adroitneſs to turn its flanks, when, by the ſudden appearance of the Kentucky riflemen and the light cavalry, they were put to flight. From the regularity with which the Indians fought on this occaſion, it was argued that they muſt doubtleſs have been conducted by Britiſh officers of ſkill and experience.

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How abſurd this whole plan was, however, was plainly to be deduced from the following circumſtance, allowed both by the general and his aides de camp, namely, that during the whole action the American army did not ſee fifty Indians; and indeed every perſon who has read an account of the Indians muſt know that they never come into the field in ſuch regular array, but always fight under covert, behind trees or buſhes, in the moſt irregular manner. Notwithſtanding the great pains that were taken formerly, both by the French and Engliſh, they never could be brought to fight in any other manner. It was in this manner, and no other, as I heard from ſeveral men who were in the action with them, that they fought againſt General Wayne; each one, as ſoon as the American troops were deſcried, inſtantly ſheltered himſelf, and in retreating they ſtill kept under covert. It was by fighting them alſo in their own way, and by ſending parties of his light troops and cavalry to rout them from their lurking places, that General Wayne defeated them; had he attempted to have drawn up his army in the regular order deſcribed in the plan, he could not but have met with the ſame fate as St. Clair, and general Braddock did on a former occaſion.

Between thirty and forty Indians, who had been ſhot or bayoneted as they attempted to run from one tree to another, were found dead on the field by the American army. It is ſuppoſed that many more were killed, but the fact of the matter could never be aſcertained by them: a profound ſilence was obſerved on the ſubject by the Indians, ſo that I never could learn accurately how many of them had fallen; that however is an immaterial circumſtance; ſuffice it to ſay that the engagement ſoon induced the Indians to ſue for a peace. Commiſſioners were deputed by the government of the United States to meet their chiefs; the preliminaries were ſoon arranged, and a treaty was concluded, by which the Indians relinquiſhed a very conſiderable part of their territory, bordering upon that of the United States.

The laſt and principal ceremony obſerved by the Indians in concluding a peace, is that of burying the hatchet. When this ceremony came to be performed, one of the chiefs aroſe, and lamenting that the laſt

peace concluded between them and the people of the States had remained unbroken for ſo ſhort a time, and expreſſing his deſire that this one ſhould be more laſting, he propoſed the tearing up of a large oak that grew before them, and the burying of the hatchet under it, where it would for ever remain at reſt. Another chief ſaid, that trees were liable to be levelled by the ſtorms; that at any rate they would decay; and that as they were deſirous that a perpetual peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed between them and their late enemies, he conceived it would better to bury the hatchet under the tall mountain which aroſe behind the wood. A third chief in turn addreſſed the aſſembly: "As "for me," ſaid he, "I am but a man, and I have not the ſtrength of "the great ſpirit to tear up the trees of the foreſt by the roots, or to re- "move mountains, under which to bury the hatchet; but I propoſe that "the hatchet may be thrown into the deep lake, where no mortal can "ever find it, and where it will remain buried for ever." This propoſal was joyfully accepted by the aſſembly, and the hatchet was in conſequence caſt with great ſolemnity into the water. The Indians now tell you, in their figurative language, that there muſt be peace for ever. "On former times," ſay they, "when the hatchet was buried, it was "only ſlightly covered with a little earth and a few leaves, and being "always a very troubleſome reſtleſs creature, it ſoon contrived to find "its way above ground, where it never failed to occaſion great confuſion "between us and our white brethren, and to knock a great many good "people on the head; but now that it has been thrown into the deep "lake, it can never do any more miſchief amongſt us; for it cannot riſe "of itſelf to the ſurface of the lake, and no one can go to the bottom "to look for it." And that there would be a permanent peace between them I have no doubt, provided that the people of the States would obſerve the articles of the treaty as punctually as the Indians; but it requires little ſagacity to predict that this will not be the caſe, and that ere long the hatchet will be again reſumed. Indeed, a little time before we reached Malden, meſſengers from the ſouthern Indians had arrived to ſound the diſpoſition of thoſe who lived near the lake, and try if they were ready and willing to enter into a freſh war. Nor is this

eagerneſs

eagerneſs for war to be wondered at, when from the report of the commiſſioners, who were ſent down by the federal government to the new ſtate of Tenaſſee, in order to put the treaty into effect, and to mark out the boundaries of that ſtate in particular, it appeared that upwards of five thouſand people, contrary to the ſtipulation of the treaty lately entered into with the Indians, had encroached upon, and ſettled themſelves down in Indian territory, which people, the commiſſioners ſaid, could not be perſuaded to return, and in their opinion could not be forced back again into the States without very great difficulty *.

A large portion of the back ſettlers, living upon the Indian frontiers, are, according to the beſt of my information, far greater ſavages than the Indians themſelves. It is nothing uncommon, I am told, to ſee hung up in their chimney corners, or nailed againſt the door of their habitations, ſimilarly to the ears or bruſh of a fox, the ſcalps which they have themſelves torn from the heads of the Indians whom they have ſhot; and in numberleſs publications in the United States I have read accounts of their having flayed the Indians, and employed their ſkins as they would have done thoſe of a wild beaſt, for whatever purpoſe they could be applied to. An Indian is conſidered by them as nothing better than a deſtructive ravenous wild beaſt, without reaſon, without a ſoul, that ought to be hunted down like a wolf wherever it makes its appearance; and indeed, even amongſt the bettermoſt ſort of the inhabitants of the weſtern country, the moſt illiberal notions are entertained reſpecting theſe unfortunate people, and arguments for their baniſhment, or rather extirpation, are adopted, equally contrary to juſtice and to humanity. "The Indian," ſay they, "who has no idea, or at leaſt is unwilling to "apply himſelf to agriculture, requires a thouſand acres of land for the "ſupport of his family; an hundred acres will be enough for one of "us and our children; why then ſhould theſe heathens, who have no "notion of arts and manufactures, who never have made any improve-"ment in ſcience, and have never been the inventors of any thing "new or uſeful to the human ſpecies, be ſuffered to encumber the ſoil?"

* The ſubſtance of this report appeared in an extract of a letter from Lexington, in Kentucky, which I myſelf ſaw, and which was publiſhed in many of the newſpapers in the United States.

" The ſettlements making in the upper parts of Georgia, upon the " fine lands of the Oconee and Okemulgee rivers, will," ſays Mr. Imlay, ſpeaking of the probable deſtination of the Indians of the ſouth weſtern territory, " bid defiance to them in that quarter. The ſettlements of " French Broad, aided by Holſton, have nothing to fear from them; and " the Cumberland is too puiſſant to apprehend any danger. The Spa- " niards are in poſſeſſion of the Floridas (how long they will remain " ſo muſt depend upon their moderation and good manners) and of the " ſettlements at the Natchez and above, which will ſoon extend to the " ſouthern boundaries of Cumberland, ſo that they (the Indians) will " be completely enveloped in a few years. Our people (alluding to " thoſe of the United States) will continue to *encroach* upon them on " three ſides, and *compel* them to live more domeſtic lives, and aſſimilate " them to our mode of living, or croſs to the weſtern ſide of the " Miſſiſſippi."

O Americans! ſhall we praiſe your juſtice and your love of liberty, when thus you talk of encroachments and compulſion? Shall we commend your moderation, when we ſee ye eager to gain freſh poſſeſſions, whilſt ye have yet millions of acres within your own territories unoccupied? Shall we reverence your regard for the rights of human nature, when we ſee ye bent upon baniſhing the poor Indian from the land where reſt the bones of his anceſtors, to him more precious than your cold hearts can imagine, and when we ſee ye tyrannizing over the hapleſs African, becauſe nature has ſtamped upon him a complexion different from your own?

The conduct of the people of the States towards the Indians appears the more unreaſonable and the more iniquitous, when it is conſidered that they are dwindling faſt away of themſelves; and that in the natural order of things there will not probably be a ſingle tribe of them found in exiſtence in the weſtern territory by the time that the numbers of the white inhabitants of the country become ſo numerous as to render land one half as valuable there as it is at preſent within ten miles of Philadelphia or New York. Even in Canada, where the Indians are treated with ſo much kindneſs, they are diſappearing faſter, perhaps, than

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any people were ever known to do before them, and are making room every year for the whites; and it is by no means improbable, but that at the end of fifty years there will not be a ſingle Indian to be met with between Quebec and Detroit, except the few perhaps that may be induced to lead quiet domeſtic lives, as a ſmall number now does in the village of Lorette near Quebec, and at ſome other places in the lower province.

It is well known, that before Europeans got any footing in North America, the increaſe of population amongſt the Indian nations was very ſlow, as it is at this day amongſt thoſe who remain ſtill unconnected with the whites. Various reaſons have been aſſigned for this. It has been aſſerted, in the firſt place, that the Indian is of a much cooler temperament than the white man, has leſs ardour in purſuit of the female, and is furniſhed with leſs noble organs of generation. This aſſertion is perhaps true in part: they are chaſte to a proverb when they come to Philadelphia, or any other of the large towns, though they have a predilection in general for white women, and might there readily indulge their inclination; and there has never been an inſtance that I can recollect, of their offering violence to a female priſoner, though oftentimes they have carried off from the ſettlements very beautiful women; that, however, they ſhould not have been gifted by the Creator with ample powers to propagate their ſpecies would be contrary to every thing we ſee either in the animal or the vegetable world; it ſeems to be with more juſtice that their ſlow increaſe is aſcribed to the conduct of the women. The dreadful practice amongſt them, of proſtituting themſelves at a very early age, cannot fail, I ſhould imagine, to vitiate the humours, and muſt have a tendency to occaſion ſterility. Added to this, they ſuckle the few children they have for ſeveral years, during which time, at leaſt amongſt many of the tribes, they avoid all connection with their huſbands; moreover, finding great inconveniency attendant upon a ſtate of pregnancy, when they are following their huſbands, in the hunting ſeaſon, from one camp to another, they have been accuſed of making uſe of certain herbs, the ſpecific virtues of which they are well acquainted with, in order to procure abortion.

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If one or more of theſe cauſes operated againſt the rapid increaſe of their numbers before the arrival of Europeans on the continent, the ſubſequent introduction of ſpirituous liquors amongſt them, of which both men and women drink to the greateſt exceſs whenever an opportunity offers, was ſufficient in itſelf not only to retard this ſlow increaſe, but even to occaſion a diminution of their numbers. Intermittent fevers and various other diſorders, whether ariſing from an alteration in the climate, owing to the clearing of the woods, or from the uſe of the poiſonous beverages introduced amongſt them by the whites, it is hard to ſay, have likewiſe contributed much of late years to diminiſh their numbers. The Shawneſe, one of the moſt warlike tribes, has been leſſened nearly one half by ſickneſs. Many other reaſons could be adduced for their decreaſe, but it is needleſs to enumerate them. That their numbers have gradually leſſened, as thoſe of the whites have increaſed, for two centuries paſt, is incontrovertible; and they are too much attached to old habits to leave any room to imagine that they will vary their line of conduct, in any material degree, during years to come, ſo that they muſt of conſequence ſtill continue to decreaſe.

In my next letter I intend to communicate to you a few obſervations that I have made upon the character, manners, cuſtoms, and perſonal and mental qualifications, &c. of the Indians. So much has already been written on theſe ſubjects, that I fear I ſhall have little to offer to your peruſal but what you may have read before. I am induced to think, however, that it will not be wholly unpleaſing to you to hear the obſervations of others confirmed by me, and if you ſhould meet with any thing new in what I have to ſay, it will have the charm of novelty at leaſt to recommend it to your notice. I am not going to give you a regular detail of Indian manners, &c.; it would be abſurd in me, who have only been with them for a few weeks, to attempt to do ſo. If you wiſh to have an account of Indian affairs at large, you muſt read Le P. Charlevoix, Le P. Hennipin, Le Hontan, Carver, &c. &c. who have each written volumes on the ſubject.

LETTER XXXV.

A brief Account of the Perſons, Manners, Character, Qualifications, mental and corporeal, of the Indians, interſperſed with Anecdotes.

Malden.

WHAT I ſhall firſt take notice of in the perſons of the Indians, is the colour of their ſkins, which, in fact, conſtitutes the moſt ſtriking diſtinction between their perſons and ours. In general their ſkin is of a copper caſt; but a moſt wonderful difference of colour is obſervable amongſt them; ſome, in whoſe veins there is no reaſon to think that any other than Indian blood flows, not having darker complexions than natives of the ſouth of France or of Spain, whilſt others, on the contrary, are nearly as black as negroes. Many perſons, and particularly ſome of the moſt reſpectable of the French miſſionaries, whoſe long reſidence amongſt the Indians ought to have made them competent judges of the matter, have been of opinion, that their natural colour does not vary from ours; and that the darkneſs of their complexion ariſes wholly from their anointing themſelves ſo frequently with unctuous ſubſtances, and from their expoſing themſelves ſo much to the ſmoke of wood fires, and to the burning rays of the ſun. But although it is certain that they think a dark complexion very becoming; that they take great pains from their earlieſt age to acquire ſuch an one; and that many of them do, in proceſs of time, contrive to vary their original colour very conſiderably; although it is certain likewiſe, that when firſt born their colour differs but little from ours; yet it appears evident to me, that the greater part of them are indebted for their different hues to nature alone. I have been induced to form this opinion from the following conſideration, namely; that thoſe children which are born of parents of a dark colour are almoſt univerſally of the ſame dark caſt as thoſe from whom they ſprang. Nekig, that is, The Little Otter, an Ottoway chief of great notoriety, whoſe village is on Detroit River, and with whom we have become intimately acquainted, has a complexion that differs but little from

that of an African; and his little boys, who are the very image of the father, are juſt as black as himſelf. With regard to Indian children being white on their firſt coming into the world, it ought by no means to be concluded from thence, that they would remain ſo if their mothers did not bedaub them with greaſe, herbs, &c. as it is well known that negro children are not perfectly black when born, nor indeed for many months afterwards, but that they acquire their jetty hue gradually, on being expoſed to the air and ſun, juſt as in the vegetable world the tender blade, on firſt peeping above ground, turns from white to a pale greeniſh colour, and afterwards to a deeper green.

Though I remarked to you in a former letter, that the Miſſiſſaguis, who live about Lake Ontario, were of a much darker caſt than any other tribe of Indians I met with, yet I do not think that the different ſhades of complexion obſervable amongſt the Indians are ſo much confined to particular tribes as to particular families; for even amongſt the Miſſiſſaguis I ſaw ſeveral men that were comparatively of a very light colour. Judging of the Creeks, Cherokees, and other ſouthern Indians, from what I have ſeen of them at Philadelphia, and at other towns in the States, whither they often come in large parties, led either by buſineſs or curioſity, it appears to me that their ſkin has a redder tinge, and more warmth of colouring in it, if I may uſe the expreſſion, than that of the Indians in the neighbourhood of the lakes; it appears to me alſo, that there is leſs difference of colour amongſt them than amongſt thoſe laſt mentioned.

Amongſt the female Indians alſo, in general, there is a much greater fameneſs of colour than amongſt the men. I do not recollect to have ſeen any of a deeper complexion than what might be termed a dirty copper colour.

The Indians univerſally have long, ſtraight, black, coarſe hair, and black eyes, rather ſmall than full ſized; they have, in general, alſo, high prominent cheek bones, and ſharp ſmall noſes, rather inclining to an aquiline ſhape; they have good teeth, and their breath, in general, is as ſweet as that of a human being can be. The men are for the moſt part very well made; it is a moſt rare circumſtance to meet with a deformed

perſon

perſon amongſt them: they are remarkably ſtraight; have full open cheſts; their walk is firm and erect, and many amongſt them have really a dignified deportment. Very few of them are under the middle ſtature, and none of them ever become very fat or corpulent. You may occaſionally ſee amongſt them ſtout robuſt men, cloſely put together, but in general they are but ſlightly made. Their legs, arms, and hands, are for the moſt part extremely well ſhaped; and very many amongſt them would be deemed handſome men in any country in the world.

The women, on the contrary, are moſtly under the middle ſize; and have higher cheek bones, and rounder faces than the men. They have very ungraceful carriages; walk with their toes turned conſiderably inwards, and with a ſhuffling gait; and as they advance in years they grow remarkably fat and coarſe. I never ſaw an Indian woman of the age of thirty, but what her eyes were ſunk, her forehead wrinkled, her ſkin looſe and ſhrivelled, and her whole perſon, in ſhort, forbidding; yet, when young, their faces and perſons are really pleaſing, not to ſay ſometimes very captivating. One could hardly imagine, without witneſſing it, that a few years could poſſibly make ſuch an alteration as it does in their perſons. This ſudden change is chiefly owing to the drudgery impoſed on them by the men after a certain age; to their expoſing themſelves ſo much to the burning rays of the ſun; ſitting ſo continually in the ſmoke of wood fires; and, above all, to the general cuſtom of proſtituting themſelves at a very early age.

Though the Indians are profuſely furniſhed with hair on their heads, yet on none of the other parts of the body, uſually covered with it amongſt us, is the ſmalleſt ſign of hair viſible, except, indeed, on the chins of old men, where a few ſlender ſtraggling hairs are ſometimes ſeen, not different from what may be occaſionally ſeen on women of a certain age in Europe. Many perſons have ſuppoſed that the Indians have been created without hair on thoſe parts of the body where it appears wanting; others, on the contrary, are of opinion, that nature has not been leſs bountiful to them than to us; and that this apparent deficiency of hair is wholly owing to their plucking it out themſelves by the roots, as ſoon as it appears above the ſkin. It is

well known, indeed, that the Indians have a great diſlike to hair, and that ſuch of the men as are ambitious of appearing gayer than the reſt, pluck it not only from their eye-brows and eye-lids, but alſo from every part of the head, except one ſpot on the back part of the crown, where they leave a long lock. For my own part, from every thing I have ſeen and heard, I am fully perſuaded, that if an Indian were to lay aſide this cuſtom of plucking out the hair, he would not only have a beard, but likewiſe hair on the ſame parts of the body as white people have; I think, however, at the ſame time, that this hair would be much finer, and not grow as thickly as upon our bodies, notwithſtanding that the hair of their heads is ſo much thicker than ours. The few hairs that are ſeen on the faces of old men are to be attributed to the careleſſneſs of old people about their external appearance.

To pluck out their hair, all ſuch as have any connection with the traders make uſe of a pliable worm, formed of flattened braſs wire. This inſtrument is cloſely applied, in its open ſtate, to the ſurface of the body where the hair grows; it is then compreſſed by the finger and thumb; a great number of hairs are caught at once between the ſpiral evolutions of the wire, and by a ſudden twitch they are all drawn out by the roots. An old ſquaw, with one of theſe inſtruments, would deprive you of your beard in a very few minutes, and a ſlight application of the worm two or three times in the year would be ſufficient to keep your chin ſmooth ever afterwards. A very great number of the white people, in the neighbourhood of Malden and Detroit, from having ſubmitted to this operation, appear at firſt ſight as little indebted to nature for beards as the Indians. The operation is very painful, but it is ſoon over, and when one conſiders how much time and trouble is ſaved and caſe gained by it in the end, it is only ſurpriſing that more people do not ſummon up reſolution, and patiently ſubmit to it.

The long lock of hair on the top of the head, with the ſkin on which it grows, conſtitutes the true ſcalp; and in ſcalping a perſon that has a full head of hair, an experienced warrior never thinks of taking off more of the ſkin than a bit of about the ſize of a crown piece, from the part

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of the head where this lock is uſually left. They ornament this ſolitary lock of hair with beads, ſilver trinkets, &c. and on grand occaſions with feathers. The women do not pluck any of the hair from off their heads, and pride themſelves upon having it as long as poſſible. They commonly wear it neatly plaited up behind, and divided in front on the middle of the forehead. When they wiſh to appear finer than uſual, they paint the ſmall part of the ſkin, which appears on the ſeparation of the hair, with a ſtreak of vermilion; when neatly done, it looks extremely well, and forms a pleaſing contraſt to the jetty black of their hair.

The Indians, who have any dealings with the Engliſh or American traders, and all of them have that live in the neighbourhood, and to the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, and in the neighbourhood of the great lakes to the north-weſt, have now totally laid aſide the uſe of furs and ſkins in their dreſs, except for their ſhoes or moccaſins, and ſometimes for their leggings, as they find they can exchange them to advantage for blankets and woollen cloths, &c. which they conſider likewiſe as much more agreeable and commodious materials for wearing apparel. The moccaſin is made of the ſkin of the deer, elk, or buffalo, which is commonly dreſſed without the hair, and rendered of a deep brown colour by being expoſed to the ſmoke of a wood fire. It is formed of a ſingle piece of leather, with a ſeam from the toe to the inſtep, and another behind, ſimilar to that in a common ſhoe; by means of a thong, it is faſtened round the inſtep, juſt under the ankle-bone, and is thus made to fit very cloſe to the foot. Round that part where the foot is put in, a flap of the depth of an inch or two is left, which hangs looſely down over the ſtring by which the moccaſin is faſtened; and this flap, as alſo the ſeam, are taſtefully ornamented with porcupine quills and beads: the flap is edged with tin or copper tags filled with ſcarlet hair, if the moccaſin be intended for a man, and with ribands if for a woman. An ornamented moccaſin of this ſort is only worn in dreſs, as the ornaments are expenſive, and the leather ſoon wears out; one of plain leather anſwers for ordinary uſe. Many of the white people on the In-

dian frontiers wear this kind of ſhoe; but a perſon not accuſtomed to walk in it, or to walk barefoot, cannot wear it abroad, on a rough road, without great inconvenience, as every unevenneſs of ſurface is felt through the leather, which is ſoft and pliable: in a houſe it is the moſt agreeable ſort of ſhoe that can be imagined: the Indians wear it univerſally.

Above the moccaſin all the Indians wear what are called leggings, which reach from the inſtep to the middle of the thigh. They are commonly made of blue or ſcarlet cloth, and are formed ſo as to fit cloſe to the limbs, like the modern pantaloons; but the edges of the cloth annexed to the ſeam, inſtead of being turned in, are left on the outſide, and are ornamented with beads, ribands, &c. when the leggings are intended for dreſs. Many of the young warriors are ſo deſirous that their leggings ſhould fit them neatly, that they make the ſquaws, who are the tailors, and really very good ones, ſow them tight on their limbs, ſo that they cannot be taken off, and they continue to wear them conſtantly till they are reduced to rags. The leggings are kept up by means of two ſtrings, one on the outſide of each thigh, which are faſtened to a third, that is tied round the waiſt.

They alſo wear round the waiſt another ſtring, from which are ſuſpended two little aprons, ſomewhat more than a foot ſquare, one hanging down before and the other behind, and under theſe a piece of cloth, drawn cloſe up to the body between the legs, forming a ſort of truſs. The aprons and this piece of cloth, which are all faſtened together, are called the breech cloth. The utmoſt ingenuity of the ſquaws is exerted in adorning the little aprons with beads, ribands, &c.

The moccaſins, leggings, and breech cloth conſtitute the whole of the dreſs which they wear when they enter upon a campaign, except indeed it be a girdle, from which hangs their tobacco pouch and ſcalping knife, &c.; nor do they wear any thing more when the weather is very warm; but when it is cool, or when they dreſs themſelves to viſit their friends, they put on a ſhort ſhirt, looſe at the neck and wriſts, generally made of coarſe figured cotton or callico of ſome gaudy pattern, not unlike what would be uſed for window or bed curtains

curtains at a common inn in England. Over the ſhirt they wear either a blanket, large piece of broad cloth, or elſe a looſe coat made ſomewhat ſimilarly to a common riding frock; a blanket is more commonly worn than any thing elſe. They tie one end of it round their waiſt with a girdle, and then drawing it over their ſhoulders, either faſten it acroſs their breaſts with a ſkewer, or hold the corners of it together in the left hand. One would imagine that this laſt mode of wearing it could not but be highly inconvenient to them, as it muſt deprive them in a great meaſure of the uſe of one hand; yet it is the mode in which it is commonly worn, even when they are ſhooting in the woods; they generally, however, keep the right arm diſengaged when they carry a gun, and draw the blanket over the left ſhoulder.

The dreſs of the women differs but very little from that of the men. They wear moccaſins, leggings, and looſe ſhort ſhirts, and like them they throw over their ſhoulders, occaſionally, a blanket or piece of broad cloth, but moſt generally the latter; they do not tie it round their waiſt, however, but ſuffer it to hang down ſo as to hide their legs; inſtead alſo of the breech cloth, they wear a piece of cloth folded cloſely round their middle, which reaches from the waiſt to the knees. Dark blue or green cloths in general are preferred to thoſe of any other colour; a few of the men are fond of wearing ſcarlet.

The women in warm weather appear in the villages without any other covering above their waiſts than theſe ſhirts, or ſhifts if you pleaſe ſo to call them, though they differ in no reſpect from the ſhirts of the men; they uſually, however, faſten them with a broach round the neck. In full dreſs they alſo appear in theſe ſhirts, but then they are covered entirely over with ſilver broaches, about the ſize of a ſixpenny piece. In full dreſs they likewiſe faſten pieces of ribands of various colours to their hair behind, which are ſuffered to hang down to their very heels. I have ſeen a young ſquaw, that has been a favourite with the men, come forth at a dance with upwards of five guineas worth of ribands ſtreaming from her hair.

On their wriſts the women wear ſilver bracelets when they can procure them; they alſo wear ſilver ear-rings; the latter are in general of

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a very small size; but it is not merely one pair which they wear, but several. To admit them, they bore a number of holes in their ears, sometimes entirely round the edges. The men wear ear-rings likewise, but of a sort totally different from those worn by the women; they mostly consist of round flat thin pieces of silver, about the size of a dollar, perforated with holes in different patterns; others, however, equally large, are made in a triangular form. Some of the tribes are very select in the choice of the pattern, and will not wear any but the one sort of pendants. Instead of boring their ears, the men slit them along the outward edge from top to bottom, and as soon as the gash is healed hang heavy weights to them in order to stretch the rim thus separated as low down as possible. Some of them are so successful in this operation, that they contrive to draw the rims of the ear in form of a bow, down to their very shoulders, and their large ear-rings hang dangling on their breasts. To prevent the rim thus extended from breaking, they bind it with brass wire; however, I observed that there was not one in six that had his ears perfect; the least touch, indeed, is sufficient to break the skin, and it would be most wonderful if they were able to preserve it entire, engaged so often as they are in drunken quarrels, and so often liable to be entangled in thickets whilst pursuing their game.

Some of the men wear pendants in their noses, but these are not so common as ear-rings. The chiefs and principal warriors wear breast plates, consisting of large pieces of silver, sea shells, or the like. Silver gorgets, such as are usually worn by officers, please them extremely, and to favourite chiefs they are given out, amongst other presents, on the part of government. Another sort of ornament is likewise worn by the men, consisting of a large silver clasp or bracelet, to which is attached a bunch of hair died of a scarlet colour, usually taken from the tail of the buffalo. This is worn on the narrow part of the arm above the elbow, and it is deemed very ornamental, and also a badge of honour, for no person wears it that has not distinguished himself in the field. Silver ornaments are universally preferred to those of any other metal.

The Indians not only paint themselves when they go to war, but like-

wise

wife when they wifh to appear full dreffed. Red and black are their favourite colours, and they daub themfelves in the moft fantaftic manner. I have feen fome with their faces entirely covered with black, except a round fpot in the center, which included the upper lip and end of the nofe, which was painted red; others again I have feen with their heads entirely black, except a large red round fpot on each ear; others with one eye black and the other red, &c.; but the moft common ftyle of painting I obferved, was to black their faces entirely over with charcoal, and then wetting their nails, to draw parallel undulating lines on their cheeks. They generally carry a little looking glafs about them to enable them to difpofe of their colours judicioufly. When they go to war they rub in the paint with greafe, and are much more particular about their appearance, which they ftudy to render as horrible as poffible; they then cover their whole body with red, white, and black paint, and feem more like devils than human beings. Different tribes have different methods of painting themfelves.

Though the Indians fpend fo much of their time in adorning their perfons, yet they take no pains to ornament their habitations, which for the moft part are wretched indeed. Some of them are formed of logs, in a ftyle fomewhat fimilar to the common houfes in the United States; but the greater part of them are of a moveable nature, and formed of bark. The bark of the birch tree is deemed preferable to every other fort, and where it is to be had is always made ufe of; but in this part of the country not being often met with, the bark of the elm tree is ufed in its ftead. The Indians are very expert in ftripping it from a tree; and frequently take the entire bark from off the trunk in one piece. The fkeletons of their huts confift of ilender poles, and on them the bark is faftened with ftrips of the tough rind of fome young tree: this, if found, proves a very effectual defence againft the weather. The huts are built in various forms: fome of them have walls on every fide, doors, and alfo a chimney in the middle of the roof; Others are open on one fide, and are nothing better than fheds. When built in this laft ftyle, four of them are commonly placed together, fo as to form a quadrangle, with the open parts towards the infide, and a fire

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common to them all is kindled in the middle. In fine weather theſe huts are agreeable dwellings; but in the depth of winter they muſt be dreadfully uncomfortable. Others of their huts are built in a conical ſhape. The Nandoweſſies, Mr. Carver tells us, live entirely in tents formed of ſkins. A great many of the families that were encamped on the iſland of Bois Blanc, I obſerved, lived in the canvas tents which they had taken from St. Clair's army. Many of the Indian nations have no permanent place of reſidence, but move about from one ſpot to another, and in the hunting ſeaſon they all have moveable encampments, which laſt are in general very rude, and inſufficient to give them even tolerable ſhelter from a fall of rain or ſnow. The hunting ſeaſon commences on the fall of the leaf, and continues till the ſnow diſſolves.

In the depth of winter, when the ſnow is frozen on the ground, they form their hunting ſheds of the ſnow itſelf; a few twigs platted together being ſimply placed overhead to prevent the ſnow which forms the roof from falling down. Theſe ſnowy habitations are much more comfortable, and warmer in winter time than any others that can be erected, as they effectually ſcreen you from the keen piercing blaſts of the wind, and a bed of ſnow is far from being uncomfortable. To accuſtom the troops to encamp in this ſtyle, in caſe of a winter campaign, a party of them, headed by ſome of the young officers, uſed regularly to be ſent from Quebec by the late governor, into the woods, there to ſhift for themſelves during the month of February. Care was always taken, however, to ſend with them two or three experienced perſons, to ſhew them how to build the huts, otherwiſe death might have been the conſequence to many. In theſe encampments they always ſleep with their feet to the fire; and indeed in the Indian encampments in general, during cold weather, they ſleep on the ground with their feet to the fire; during mild weather, many of them ſleep on benches of bark in their huts, which are raiſed from two to four feet from the ground.

The utenſils in an Indian hut are very few; one or two braſs or iron kettles procured from the traders, or, if they live removed from them, pots formed of ſtone, together with a few wooden ſpoons and diſhes made by themſelves, conſtitute in general the whole of them. A ſtone

of a very ſoft texture, called the *ſoap ſtone*, is very commonly found in the back parts of North America, particularly ſuited for Indian workmanſhip. It receives its name from appearing to the touch as ſoft and ſmooth as a bit of ſoap; and indeed it may be cut with a knife almoſt equally eaſily. In Virginia they uſe it powdered for the boxes of their wheels inſtead of greaſe. Soft, however, as is this ſtone, it will reſiſt fire equally with iron. The ſoap ſtone is of a dove colour; others nearly of the ſame quality, are found in the country, of a black and red colour, which are ſtill commonly uſed by the Indians for the bowls of their pipes.

The bark canoes, which the Indians uſe in this part of the country, are by no means ſo neatly formed as thoſe made in the country upon, and to the north of, the River St. Lawrence: they are commonly formed of one entire piece of elm bark, taken from the trunk of the tree, which is bound on ribs formed of ſlender rods of tough wood. There are no ribs, however, at the ends of theſe canoes, but merely at the middle part, where alone it is that paſſengers ever ſit. It is only the center, indeed, which reſts upon the water; the ends are generally raiſed ſome feet above the ſurface, the canoes being of a curved form. They bring them into this ſhape by cutting, nearly midway between the ſtem and ſtern, two deep ſlits, one on each ſide, in the back, and by lapping the disjointed edges one over the other. No pains are taken to make the ends of the canoes water tight, ſince they never touch the water.

On firſt inſpection you would imagine, from its miſerable appearance, that an elm bark canoe, thus conſtructed, were not calculated to carry even a ſingle perſon ſafely acroſs a ſmooth piece of water; it is nevertheleſs a remarkably ſafe ſort of boat, and the Indians will reſolutely embark in one of them during very rough weather. They are ſo light that they ride ſecurely over every wave, and the only precaution neceſſary in navigating them is to ſit ſteady. I have ſeen a dozen people go ſecurely in one, which might be eaſily carried by a ſingle able-bodied man. When an Indian takes his family to any diſtance in a canoe, the women, the girls, and boys, are furniſhed each with a paddle, and are kept buſily

at work; the father of the family gives himſelf no trouble but in ſteering the veſſel.

The Indians that are connected with the traders have now, very generally, laid aſide bows and arrows, and ſeldom take them into their hands, except it be to amuſe themſelves for a few hours, when they have expended their powder and ſhot: their boys, however, ſtill uſe them univerſally, and ſome of them ſhoot with wonderful dexterity. I ſaw a young Shawneſe chief, apparently not more than ten years old, fix three arrows running in the body of a ſmall black ſquirrel, on the top of a very tall tree, and during an hour or two that I followed him through the woods, he ſcarcely miſſed his mark half a dozen times. It is aſtoniſhing to ſee with what accuracy, and at the ſame time with what readineſs, they mark the ſpot where their arrows fall. They will ſhoot away a dozen arrows or more, ſeemingly quite careleſs about what becomes of them, and as inattentive to the ſpot where they fall as if they never expected to find them again, yet afterwards they will run and pick them every one up without heſitation. The ſouthern Indians are much more expert at the uſe of the bow than thoſe near the lakes, as they make much greater uſe of it.

With the gun, it ſeems to be generally allowed, that the Indians are by no means ſo good markſmen as the white people. I have often taken them out ſhooting with me, and I always found them very ſlow in taking aim; and though they generally hit an object that was ſtill, yet they ſcarcely ever touched a bird on the wing, or a ſquirrel that was leaping about from tree to tree.

The expertneſs of the Indians in throwing the tomahawk is well known. At the diſtance of ten yards they will fix the ſharp edge of it in an object nearly to a certainty. I have been told, however, that they are not fond of letting it out of their hands in action, and that they never attempt to throw it but when they are on the point of overtaking a flying foe, or are certain of recovering it. Some of them will faſten a ſtring of the length of a few feet to the handle of the tomahawk, and will launch it forth, and draw it back again into their hand with

with great dexterity; they will alſo parry the thruſt or cuts of a ſword with the tomahawk very dexterouſly.

The common tomahawk is nothing more than a light hatchet, but the moſt approved ſort has on the back part of the hatchet, and connected with it in one piece, the bowl of a pipe, ſo that when the handle is perforated, the tomahawk anſwers every purpoſe of a pipe: the Indians, indeed, are fonder of ſmoking out of a tomahawk than out of any other ſort of pipe. That formerly given to the Indians by the French traders, inſtead of a pipe, had a large ſpike on the back part of the hatchet; very few of theſe inſtruments are now to be found amongſt them; I never ſaw but one. The tomahawk is commonly worn by the left ſide, ſtuck in a belt.

For the favourite chiefs, very elegant pipe tomahawks, inlaid with ſilver, are manufactured by the armourers in the Indian department. Captain E—— has given me one of this kind, which he had made for himſelf; it is ſo much admired by the Indians, that when they have ſeen it with me, they have frequently aſked me to lend it to them for an hour or ſo to ſmoke out of, juſt as children would aſk for a pretty plaything; they have never failed to return it very punctually.

The armourers here alluded to are perſons kept at the expence of government to repair the arms of the Indians when they happen to break, which is very commonly the caſe.

An Indian child, ſoon after it is born, is ſwathed with cloths or ſkins, and being then laid on its back, is bound down on a piece of thick board, ſpread over with ſoft moſs. The board is left ſomewhat longer and broader than the child, and bent pieces of wood, like pieces of hoops, are placed over its face to protect it, ſo that if the machine were ſuffered to fall the child would not probably be injured. The women, when they go abroad, carry their children thus tied down on their backs, the board being ſuſpended by a broad band, which they wear round their foreheads. When they have any buſineſs to tranſact at home, they hang the board on a tree, if there be one at hand, and ſet them a ſwinging from ſide to ſide, like a pendulum, in order to exerciſe the children; ſometimes alſo, I obſerved, they unlooſened the children from the boards,

and putting them each into a ſort of little hammock, faſtened them between two trees, and there ſuffered them to ſwing about. As ſoon as they are ſtrong enough to crawl about on their hands and feet they are liberated from all confinement, and ſuffered, like young puppies, to run about, ſtark naked, into water, into mud, into ſnow, and, in ſhort, to go wherſoever their choice leads them; hence they derive that vigour of conſtitution which enables them to ſupport the greateſt fatigue, and that indifference to the changes of the weather which they poſſeſs in common with the brute creation. The girls are covered with a looſe garment as ſoon as they have attained four or five years of age, but the boys go naked till they are conſiderably older.

The Indians, as I have already remarked, are for the moſt part very ſlightly made, and from a ſurvey of their perſons one would imagine that they were much better qualified for any purſuits that required great agility than great bodily ſtrength. This has been the general opinion of moſt of thoſe who have written on this ſubject. I am induced, however, from what I have myſelf been witneſs to, and from what I have collected from others, to think that the Indians are much more remarkable for their muſcular ſtrength than for their agility. At different military poſts on the frontiers, where this ſubject has been agitated, races, for the ſake of experiment, have frequently been made between ſoldiers and Indians, and provided the diſtance was not great, the Indians have almoſt always been beaten; but in a long race, where ſtrength of muſcle was required, they have without exception been victorious; in leaping alſo the Indians have been infallibly beaten by ſuch of the ſoldiers as poſſeſſed common activity: but the ſtrength of the Indians is moſt conſpicuous in the carrying of burthens on their backs; they eſteem it nothing to walk thirty miles a day for ſeveral days together under a load of eight ſtone, and they will walk an entire day under a load without taking any refreſhment. In carrying burdens they make uſe of a ſort of frame, ſomewhat ſimilar to what is commonly uſed by a glazier to carry glaſs; this is faſtened by cords, or ſtrips of tough bark or leather, round their ſhoulders, and when the load is fixed upon the broad ledge at the bottom of the frame, two bands are thrown round the whole,

whole, one of which is brought acroſs the forehead, and the other acroſs the breaſt, and thus the load is ſupported. The length of way an Indian will travel in the courſe of the day, when unencumbered with a load, is aſtoniſhing. A young Wyandot, who, when peace was about to be made between the Indians and General Wayne, was employed to carry a meſſage from his nation to the American officer, travelled but little ſhort of eighty miles on foot in one day; and I was informed by one of the general's aids-de-camp, who ſaw him when he arrived at the camp, that he did not appear in the leaſt degree fatigued.

Le P. Charlevoix obſerves, that the Indians ſeem to him to poſſeſs many perſonal advantages over us; their ſenſes, in particular, he thinks much finer than ours; their ſight is, indeed, quick and penetrating, and it does not fail them till they are far advanced in years, notwithſtanding that their eyes are expoſed ſo many months each winter to the dazzling whiteneſs of the ſnow, and to the ſharp irritating ſmoke of wood fires. Diſorders in the eyes are almoſt wholly unknown to them; nor is the ſlighteſt blemiſh ever ſeen in their eyes, excepting it be a reſult from ſome accident. Their hearing is very acute, and their ſenſe of ſmelling ſo nice, that they can tell when they are approaching a fire long before it is in ſight.

The Indians have moſt retentive memories; they will preſerve to their deaths a recollection of any place they have once paſſed through; they never forget a face that they have attentively obſerved but for a few ſeconds; at the end of many years they will repeat every ſentence of the ſpeeches that have been delivered by different individuals in a public aſſembly; and has any ſpeech been made in the council houſe of the nation, particularly deſerving of remembrance, it will be handed down with the utmoſt accuracy from one generation to another, though perfectly ignorant of the uſe of hieroglyphicks and letters; the only memorials of which they avail themſelves are ſmall pieces of wood, ſuch as I told you were brought by them to Captain E——, preparatory to the delivery of the preſents, and belts of wampum; the former are only uſed on trifling occaſions, the latter never but on very grand and ſolemn ones. Whenever a conference, or a talk,

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as they term it, is about to be held with any neighbouring tribe, or whenever any treaty or national compact is about to be made, one of these belts, differing in some respect from every other that has been made before, is immediately constructed; each person in the assembly holds this belt in his hand whilst he delivers his speech, and when he has ended, he presents it to the next person that rises, by which ceremony each individual is reminded, that it behoves him to be cautious in his discourse, as all he says will be faithfully recorded by the belt. The talk being over, the belt is deposited in the hands of the principal chief.

On the ratification of a treaty, very broad splendid belts are reciprocally given by the contracting parties, which are deposited amongst the other belts belonging to the nation. At stated intervals they are all produced to the nation, and the occasions upon which they were made are mentioned; if they relate to a talk, one of the chiefs repeats the substance of what was said over them; if to a treaty, the terms of it are recapitulated. Certain of the squaws, also, are entrusted with the belts, whose business it is to relate the history of each one of them to the younger branches of the tribe; this they do with great accuracy, and thus it is that the remembrance of every important transaction is kept up.

The wampum is formed of the inside of the clam shell, a large sea shell bearing some similitude to that of a scallop, which is found on the coasts of New England and Virginia. The shell is sent in its original rough state to England, and there cut into small pieces, exactly similar in shape and size to the modern glass bugles worn by ladies, which little bits of shell constitute wampum. There are two sorts of wampum, the white and the purple; the latter is most esteemed by the Indians, who think a pound weight of it equally valuable with a pound of silver. The wampum is strung upon bits of leather, and the belt is composed of ten, twelve, or more strings, according to the importance of the occasion on which it is made; sometimes also the wampum is sowed in different patterns on broad belts of leather.

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The uſe of wampum appears to be very general amongſt the Indian nations, but how it became ſo, is a queſtion that would require diſcuſſion, for it is well known that they are a people obſtinately attached to old cuſtoms, and that would not therefore be apt to adopt, on the moſt grand and ſolemn occaſion, the uſe of an article that they had never ſeen until brought to them by ſtrangers; at the ſame time it ſeems wholly impoſſible that they ſhould ever have been able to have made wampum from the clam ſhell for themſelves; they faſhion the bowls of tobacco pipes, indeed, from ſtone, in a very curious manner, and with aſtoniſhing accuracy, conſidering that they uſe no other inſtrument than a common knife, but then the ſtone which they commonly carve thus is of a very ſoft kind; the clam ſhell, however, is exceedingly hard, and to bore and cut it into ſuch ſmall pieces as are neceſſary to form wampum, very fine tools would be wanting. Probably they made ſome uſe of the clam ſhell, and endeavoured to reduce it to as ſmall bits as they could with their rude inſtruments before we came amongſt them, but on finding that we could cut it ſo much more neatly than they could, laid aſide the wampum before in uſe for that of our manufacture. Mr. Carver tells us, that he found ſea ſhells very generally worn by the Indians who reſided in the moſt interior parts of the continent, who never could have viſited a ſea ſhore themſelves, and could only have procured them at the expence of much trouble from other nations.

The Indians are exceedingly ſagacious and obſervant, and by dint of minute attention, acquire many qualifications to which we are wholly ſtrangers. They will traverſe a trackleſs foreſt, hundreds of miles in extent, without deviating from the ſtraight courſe, and will reach to a certainty the ſpot whither they intended to go on ſetting out: with equal ſkill they will croſs one of the large lakes, and though out of ſight of the ſhores for days, will to a certainty make the land at once, at the very place they deſired. Some of the French miſſionaries have ſuppoſed that the Indians are guided by inſtinct, and have pretended that Indian children can find their way through a foreſt as eaſily as a perſon of maturer years; but this is a moſt abſurd notion. It is unqueſtionably by a cloſe attention to the growth of the trees, and poſi-

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tion of the ſun, that they find their way. On the northern ſide of a tree, there is generally the moſt moſs, and the bark on that ſide in general differs from that on the oppoſite one. The branches towards the ſouth are for the moſt part more luxuriant than thoſe on the other ſides of trees, and ſeveral other diſtinctions alſo ſubſiſt between the northern and ſouthern ſides, conſpicuous to Indians, who are taught from their infancy to attend to them, which a common obſerver would perhaps never notice. Being accuſtomed from their childhood, likewiſe, to pay great attention to the poſition of the ſun, they learn to make the moſt accurate allowance for its apparent motion from one part of the heavens to another, and in any part of the day they will point to the part of the heavens where it is, although the ſky be obſcured by clouds or miſts.

An inſtance of their dexterity in finding their way through an unknown country came under my obſervation when I was at Staunton, ſituated behind the Blue Mountains, Virginia. A number of the Creek nation had arrived at that town in their way to Philadelphia, whither they were going upon ſome affairs of importance, and had ſtopped there for the night. In the morning ſome circumſtance or another, what could not be learned, induced one half of the Indians to ſet off without their companions, who did not follow until ſome hours afterwards. When theſe laſt were ready to purſue their journey, ſeveral of the townspeople mounted their horſes to eſcort them part of the way. They proceeded along the high road for ſome miles, but all at once, haſtily turning aſide into the woods, though there was no path, the Indians advanced confidently forward; the people who accompanied them, ſurpriſed at this movement, informed them that they were quitting the road to Philadelphia, and expreſſed their fears leſt they ſhould miſs their companions, who had gone on before. They anſwered, that they knew better; that the way through the woods was the ſhorteſt to Philadelphia; and that they knew very well that their companions had entered the woods at the very place they did. Curioſity led ſome of the horſemen to go on, and to their aſtoniſhment, for there was apparently no track, they overtook the other Indians in the thickeſt part of the wood; but what appeared moſt ſingular was, that the route which they took was found,

on examining a map, to be as direct for Philadelphia as if they had taken the bearings by a mariner's compass. From others of their nation, who had been at Philadelphia at a former period, they had probably learned the exact direction of that city from their village, and had never loft fight of it, although they had already travelled three hundred miles through woods, and had upwards of four hundred miles more to go before they could reach the place of their deftination.

Of the exactnefs with which they can find out a ftrange place that they have been once directed to by their own people, a ftriking example is furnifhed us, I think, by Mr. Jefferfon, in his account of the Indian graves in Virginia. Thefe graves are nothing more than large mounds of earth in the woods, which, on being opened, are found to contain fkeletons in an erect pofture: the Indian mode of fepulture has been too often deferibed to remain unknown to you. But to come to my ftory. A party of Indians that were paffing on to fome of the fea ports on the Atlantic, juft as the Creeks above mentioned were going to Philadelphia, were obferved, all on a fudden, to quit the ftraight road by which they were proceeding, and without afking any queftions, to ftrike through the woods in a direct line to one of thefe graves, which lay at the diftance of fome miles from the road. Now very near a century muft have paffed over fince the part of Virginia, in which this grave was fituated, had been inhabited by Indians; and thefe Indian travellers, who went to vifit it by themfelves, had, unqueftionably, never been in that part of the country before; they muft have found their way to it fimply from the defcription of its fituation that had been handed down to them by tradition.

The Indians, for the moft part, are admirably well acquainted with the geography of their own country. Afk them any queftions relative to the fituation of a particular place in it, and if there be a convenient fpot at hand, they will, with the utmoft facility, trace upon the ground with a ftick a map, by no means inaccurate, of the place in queftion, and the furrounding country; they will point out the courfe of the rivers, and by directing your attention to the fun, make you acquainted with the different bearings. I happened once to be fitting in a houfe at

the weſtern extremity of Lake Erie, whilſt we were detained there by contrary winds, and was employed in looking over a pocket map of the ſtate of New York, when a young Seneka warrior entered. His attention was attracted by the ſight of the map, and he ſeemed at once to comprehend the meaning of it; but never having before ſeen a general map of the ſtate of New York, and being wholly ignorant of the uſe of letters, he could not diſcover to what part of the country it had a reference; ſimply, however, by laying my finger upon the ſpot where we then were, and by ſhewing to him the line that denoted Buffalo Creek, on which his village was ſituated, I gave him the clue to the whole, and having done ſo, he quickly ran over the map, and with the utmoſt accuracy pointed out by name, every lake and river for upwards of two hundred miles diſtant from his village. All the lakes and rivers in this part of the country ſtill retain the Indian names, ſo that had he named them wrong, I could have at once detected him. His pleaſure was ſo great on beholding ſuch a perfect map of the country, that he could not refrain from calling ſome of his companions, who were loitering at the door, to come and look at it. They made ſigns to me to lend it to them; I did ſo, and having laid it on a table, they ſat over it for more than half an hour, during which time I obſerved they frequently teſtified their pleaſure to one another on finding particular places accurately laid down, which they had been acquainted with. The older men alſo ſeemed to have many ſtories to tell the others, probably reſpecting the adventures they had met with at diſtant parts of the country, and which they were now glad of having an opportunity of elucidating by the map before them.

Whenever a track of ground is about to be purchaſed by government from the Indians, for no private individuals can purchaſe lands from them by the laws of the province, a map of the country is drawn, and the part about to be contracted for, is particularly marked out. If there be any miſtakes in theſe maps, the Indians will at once point them out; and after the bargain is made, they will, from the maps, mark out the boundaries of the lands they have ceded with the greateſt accuracy, notching the trees, if there be any, along the boundary line, and if not, placing ſtakes

ſtakes or ſtones in the ground to denote where it runs. On theſe occaſions regular deeds of ſale are drawn, with accurate maps of the lands which have been purchaſed attached to them, and theſe deeds are ſigned in form by the contracting parties. I ſaw ſeveral of them in poſſeſſion of our friend Captain E——, which were extremely curious on account of the Indian ſignatures. The Indians, for the moſt part, take upon them the name of ſome animal, as, The Blue Snake; The Little Turkey; The Big Bear; The Mad Dog, &c. and their ſignatures conſiſt of the outline, drawn with a pen, of the different animals whoſe names they bear. Some of the ſignatures at the bottom of theſe deeds were really well executed, and were lively repreſentations of the animals they were intended for.

The Indians in general poſſeſs no ſmall ſhare of ingenuity. Their domeſtic wooden utenſils, bows and arrows, and other weapons, &c. are made with the utmoſt neatneſs; and indeed the workmanſhip of them is frequently ſuch as to excite aſtoniſhment, when it is conſidered that a knife and a hatchet are the only inſtruments they make uſe of. On the handles of their tomahawks, on their powder horns, on the bowls of their pipes, &c. you oftentimes meet with figures extremely well deſigned, and with ſpecimens of carving far from contemptible. The embroidery upon their moccaſins and other garments ſhews that the females are not leſs ingenious in their way than the men. Their porcupine quill work would command admiration in any country in Europe. The ſoft young quills of the porcupine are thoſe which they uſe, and they dye them of the moſt beautiful and brilliant colours imaginable. Some of their dyes have been diſcovered, but many of them yet remain unknown, as do alſo many of the medicines with which they perform ſometimes moſt miraculous cures. Their dyes and medicines are all procured from the vegetable world.

But though the Indians prove by their performances, that they have ſome reliſh for the works of art, yet they are by no means ready to beſtow commendations on every thing curious for its workmanſhip that is ſhewn to them. Trinkets or ornaments for dreſs, though ever ſo gaudy, or ever ſo neatly manufactured, they deſpiſe, unleſs ſomewhat ſimilar in

their kind to what they themſelves are accuſtomed to wear, and faſhioned exactly to their own taſte, which has remained nearly the ſame ſince Europeans firſt came amongſt them; nor will they praiſe any curious or wonderful piece of mechaniſm, unleſs they can ſee that it is intended to anſwer ſome uſeful purpoſe. Nothing that I could ſhew them attracted their attention, I obſerved, ſo much as a light double-barrelled gun, which I commonly carried in my hand when walking about their encampments. This was ſomething in their own way; they at once perceived the benefit that muſt accrue to the ſportſman from having two barrels on the one ſtock, and the contrivance pleaſed them; well acquainted alſo with the qualities of good locks, and the advantages attending them, they expreſſed great ſatisfaction at finding thoſe upon my piece ſo ſuperior to what they perhaps had before ſeen.

It is not every new ſcene either, which to them, one would imagine, could not fail to appear wonderful, that will excite their admiration.

A French writer, I forget who, tells us of ſome Iroquois Indians that walked through ſeveral of the fineſt ſtreets of Paris, but without expreſſing the leaſt pleaſure at any thing they ſaw, until they at laſt came to a cook's ſhop; this called forth their warmeſt praiſe; a ſhop where a man was always ſure of getting ſomething to ſatisfy his hunger, without the trouble and fatigue of hunting and fiſhing, was in their opinion one of the moſt admirable inſtitutions poſſible: had they been told, however, that they muſt have paid for what they eat, they would have expreſſed equal indignation perhaps at what they ſaw. In their own villages they have no idea of refuſing food to any perſon that enters their habitation in quality of a friend.

The Indians, whom curioſity or buſineſs leads to Philadelphia, or to any other of the large towns in the States, find, in general, as little deſerving of notice in the ſtreets and houſes there as theſe Iroquois at Paris; and there is not one of them but what would prefer his own wigwam to the moſt ſplendid habitations they ſee in any of theſe places. The ſhipping, however, at Philadelphia and the other ſea-ports, ſeldom fails to excite their admiration, becauſe they at once ſee the utility and advantage

advantage of large veſſels over canoes, which are the only veſſels they have. The young Wyandot, whom I before mentioned, as having made ſuch a wonderful day's journey on foot, happened to be at Philadelphia when I was there, and he appeared highly delighted with the river, and the great number of ſhips of all ſizes upon it; but the tide attracted his attention more than any thing elſe whatſoever. On coming to the river the firſt day, he looked up at the ſun, and made certain obſervations upon the courſe of the ſtream, and general ſituation of the place, as the Indians never fail to do on coming to any new or remarkable ſpot. The ſecond time, however, he went down to the water, he found to his ſurpriſe that the river was running with equal rapidity in a contrary direction to what he had ſeen it run the day before. For a moment he imagined that by ſome miſtake he muſt have got to the oppoſite ſide of it; but ſoon recollecting himſelf, and being perſuaded that he ſtood on the very ſame ſpot from whence he had viewed it the day before, his aſtoniſhment became great indeed. To obtain information upon ſuch an intereſting point, he immediately ſought out an aid-de-camp of General Wayne, who had brought him to town. This gentleman, however, only rendered the appearance ſtill more myſterious to him, by telling him, that the great ſpirit, for the convenience of the white men, who were his particular favourites, had made the rivers in their country to run two ways; but the poor Wyandot was ſatisfied with the anſwer, and replied, "Ah, my friend, if the great ſpirit would make the Ohio "to run two ways for us, we ſhould very often pay you a viſit at Pitts-"burgh *." During his ſtay at Philadelphia he never failed to viſit the river every day.

Amongſt the public exhibitions at Philadelphia, the performances of the horſe riders and tumblers at the amphitheatre appear to afford them the greateſt pleaſure; they entertain the higheſt opinion of theſe people who are ſo diſtinguiſhed for their feats of activity, and rank them amongſt the ableſt men in the nation. Nothing, indeed, gives more delight to the Indians than to ſee a man that excels in any bodily exerciſe; and tell them even of a perſon that is diſtinguiſhed for his great

* A town ſituated at the very head of the Ohio.

ſtrength,

ſtrength, for his ſwiftneſs in running, for his dexterous management of the bow or the gun, for his cunning in hunting, for his intrepid and firm conduct in war, or the like, they will liſten to you with the greateſt pleaſure, and readily join in praiſes of the hero.

The Indians appear, on the firſt view, to be of a very cold and phlegmatic diſpoſition, and you muſt know them for ſome time before you can be perſuaded to the contrary. If you ſhew them any artificial production which pleaſes them, they ſimply tell you, with ſeeming indifference, "that it is pretty;" "that they like to look at it;" "that it "is a clever invention:" nor do they teſtify their ſatisfaction and pleaſure by emotions ſeemingly much warmer in their nature, on beholding any new or ſurpriſing ſpectacle, or on hearing any happy piece of intelligence. The performances at the amphitheatre at Philadelphia, though unqueſtionably highly intereſting to them, never drew forth from them, I obſerved, more than a ſmile or a gentle laugh, followed by a remark in a low voice to their friend ſitting next to them. With equal indifference do they behold any thing terrible, or liſten to the accounts of any dreadful cataſtrophe that has befallen their families or their nation. This apathy, however, is only aſſumed, and certainly does not proceed from a real want of feeling: no people on earth are more alive to the calls of friendſhip; no people have a greater affection for their offſpring in their tender years; no people are more ſenſible of an injury: a word in the ſlighteſt degree inſulting will kindle a flame in their breaſts, that can only be extinguiſhed by the blood of the offending party; and they will traverſe foreſts for hundreds of miles, expoſed to the inclemency of the ſevereſt weather, and to the pangs of hunger, to gratify their revenge; they will not ceaſe for years daily to viſit, and ſilently to mourn over the grave of a departed child; and they will riſk their lives, and ſacrifice every thing they poſſeſs, to aſſiſt a friend in diſtreſs; but at the ſame time, in their opinion, no man can be eſteemed a good warrior or a dignified character that openly betrays any extravagant emotions of ſurpriſe, of joy, of ſorrow, or of fear, on any occaſion whatſoever. The excellence of appearing thus indifferent to what would excite the ſtrongeſt emotions in the minds of any other people, is forcibly inculcated on

them from their earlieſt youth; and ſuch an aſtoniſhing command do they acquire over themſelves, that even at the ſtake, when ſuffering the ſevereſt tortures that can be inflicted on the human body by the flames and the knife, they appear unmoved, and laugh, as it is well known, at their tormentors.

This affected apathy on the part of the Indians makes them appear uncommonly grave and reſerved in the preſence of ſtrangers; in their own private circles, however, they frequently keep up gay and ſprightly converſations; and they are poſſeſſed, it is ſaid, of a lively and ready turn of wit. When at ſuch a place as Philadelphia, notwithſtanding their appearing ſo indifferent to every thing before them whilſt ſtrangers are preſent, yet, after having retired by themſelves to an apartment for the night, they will frequently ſit up for hours together, laughing and talking of what they have ſeen in the courſe of the day. I have been told by perſons acquainted with their language, that have overheard their diſcourſe on ſuch occaſions, that their remarks are moſt pertinent, and that they ſometimes turn what has paſſed before them into ſuch ludicrous points of view, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to refrain from laughter.

But though the Indians, in general, appear ſo reſerved in the preſence of ſtrangers, yet the firmneſs of their diſpoſitions forbids them from ever appearing embarraſſed, and they would ſit down to table in a palace, before the firſt crowned head on the face of the earth, with as much unconcern as they would ſit down to a frugal meal in one of their own cabins. They deem it highly becoming in a warrior, to accommodate his manners to thoſe of the people with whom he may happen to be, and as they are wonderfully obſervant, you will ſeldom perceive any thing of awkwardneſs or vulgarity in their behaviour in the company of ſtrangers. I have ſeen an Indian, that had lived in the woods from his infancy, enter a drawing room in Philadelphia, full of ladies, with as much eaſe and as much gentility as if he had always lived in the city, and merely from having been told, preparatory to his entering, the form uſually obſerved on ſuch occaſions. But the following anecdote will put this matter in a ſtronger point of view.

Our

Our friend Nekig, the Little Otter, had been invited to dine with us at the houſe of a gentleman at Detroit, and he came accordingly, accompanied by his ſon, a little boy of about nine or ten years of age. After dinner a variety of fruits were ſerved up, and amongſt the reſt ſome peaches, a diſh of which was handed to the young Indian. He helped himſelf to one with becoming propriety; but immediately afterwards he put the fruit to his mouth, and bit a piece out of it. The father eyed him with indignation, and ſpoke ſome words to him in a low voice, which I could not underſtand, but which, on being interpreted by one of the company, proved to be a warm reprimand for his having been ſo deficient in obſervation as not to peel his peach, as he ſaw the gentleman oppoſite to him had done. The little fellow was extremely aſhamed of himſelf; but he quickly retrieved his error, by drawing a plate towards him, and pealing the fruit with the greateſt neatneſs.

Some port wine, which he was afterwards helped to, not being by any means agreeable to his palate, the little fellow made a wry face, as a child might naturally do, after drinking it. This called forth another reprimand from the father, who told him, that he deſpaired of ever ſeeing him a great man or a good warrior if he appeared then to diſlike what his hoſt had kindly helped him to. The boy drank the reſt of his wine with ſeeming pleaſure.

The Indians ſcarcely ever lift their hands againſt their children; but if they are unmindful of what is ſaid to them, they ſometimes throw a little water in their faces, a ſpecies of reprimand of which the children have the greateſt dread, and which produces an inſtantaneous good effect. One of the French miſſionaries tells us of his having ſeen a girl of an advanced age ſo vexed at having ſome water thrown in her face by her mother, as if ſhe was ſtill a child, that ſhe inſtantly retired, and put an end to her exiſtence. As long as they remain children, the young Indians are attentive in the extreme to the advice of their parents; but arrived at the age of puberty, and able to provide for themſelves, they no longer have any reſpect for them, and they will follow their own will

will and pleaſure in ſpite of all their remonſtrances, unleſs, indeed, their parents be of an advanced age. Old age never fails to command their moſt profound veneration.

No people are poſſeſſed of a greater ſhare of natural politeneſs than the Indians: they will never interrupt you whilſt you are ſpeaking; nor, if you have told them any thing which they think to be falſe, will they bluntly contradict you; "We dare ſay brother," they will anſwer, "that you yourſelf believe what you tell us to be true; but it appears to "us ſo improbable that we cannot give our aſſent to it."

In their conduct towards one another nought but gentleneſs and harmony is obſervable. You are never witneſs, amongſt them, to ſuch noiſy broils and clamorous contentions as are common amongſt the lower claſſes of people in Europe; nor do you perceive amongſt them any traces of the coarſe vulgar manners of theſe latter people; they behave on all occaſions like gentlemen, and could not ſo many glaring proofs be adduced to the contrary, you never could imagine that they were that ferocious ſavage people in war which they are ſaid to be. It muſt be underſtood, however, that I only ſpeak now of the Indians in their ſober ſtate; when intoxicated with ſpirits, which is but too often the caſe, a very different picture is preſented to our view, and they appear more like devils incarnate than human beings; they roar, they fight, they cut each other, and commit every ſort of outrage; indeed ſo ſenſible are they of their own infirmities in this ſtate, that when a number of them are about to get drunk, they give up their knives and tomahawks, &c. to one of the party, who is on honour to remain ſober, and to prevent miſchief, and who generally does behave according to this promiſe. If they happen to get drunk without having taken this precaution, their ſquaws take the earlieſt opportunity to deprive them of their weapons.

The Indians prefer whiſkey and rum to all other ſpirituous liquors; but they do not ſeem eager to obtain theſe liquors ſo much for the pleaſure of gratifying their palates as for the ſake of intoxication. There is not one in a hundred that can refrain from drinking to exceſs if he have it in his power; and the generality of them having once got a taſte of any intoxicating liquor, will uſe every means to gain more; and to do ſo

they at once become mean, ſervile, deceitful, and depraved, in every ſenſe of the word. Nothing can make amends to theſe unfortunate people for the introduction of ſpirituous liquors amongſt them. Before their acquaintance with them, they were diſtinguiſhed beyond all other nations for their temperance in eating and drinking; for their temperance in eating, indeed, they are ſtill remarkable; they eſteem it indecorous in the higheſt degree even to appear hungry; and on arriving at their villages, after having faſted, perhaps, for ſeveral days preceding, they will ſit down quietly, and not aſk for any food for a conſiderable time; and having got wherewith to ſatisfy their appetite, they will eat with moderation, as though the calls of hunger were not more preſſing than if they had feaſted the hour before. They never eat on any occaſion in a hurry.

The Indians are by nature of a very hoſpitable generous diſpoſition, where no particular circumſtances operate to the contrary; and, indeed, even when revenge would fain perſuade them to behave differently, yet having once profeſſed a friendſhip for a ſtranger, and pledged themſelves for his ſafety, nothing can induce them to deviate from their word. Of their generoſity I had numberleſs proofs in the preſents which they gave me; and though it muſt be allowed, that when they make preſents they generally expect others in return, yet I am convinced, from the manner in which they preſented different trifles to me, that it was not with an expectation of gaining more valuable preſents in return that they gave them to me, but merely through friendſhip. It is notorious, that towards one another they are liberal in the extreme, and for ever ready to ſupply the deficiencies of their neighbours with any ſuperfluities of their own. They have no idea of amaſſing wealth for themſelves individually; and they wonder that perſons can be found in any ſociety, ſo deſtitute of every generous ſentiment, as to enrich themſelves at the expence of others, and to live in eaſe and affluence, regardleſs of the miſery and wretchedneſs of members of the ſame community to which they themſelves belong. Their dreſſes, domeſtic utenſils, and weapons, are the only articles of property to which they lay an excluſive claim; every thing elſe is the common property of the tribe, in promoting the general welfare in which every individual feels himſelf deeply

intereſted. The chiefs are actuated by the ſame laudable ſpirit, and inſtead of being the richeſt, are, in many inſtances, the pooreſt perſons in the community; for whilſt others have leiſure to hunt, &c. it frequently happens that the whole of their time is occupied in ſettling the public affairs of the nation.

The generality of the Indian nations appear to have two ſorts of chiefs; council chiefs, and war chiefs. The former are hereditary, and are employed principally in the management of their civil affairs; but they may be war chiefs at the ſame time: the latter are choſen from amongſt thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt in battle, and are ſolely employed in leading the warriors in the field. The chiefs have no power of enforcing obedience to their commands, nor do they ever attempt to give their orders in an imperious manner; they ſimply adviſe. Each private individual conceives that he is born in a ſtate of perfect liberty, and he diſdains all controul, but that which his own reaſon ſubjects him to. As they all have one intereſt, however, at heart, which is the general welfare of the nation, and as it is well known that the chiefs are actuated by no other motives, whatever meaſures they recommend are generally attended to, and at once adopted. Savages as they are, yet in no civilized community, I fear, on earth, ſhall we find the ſame public ſpirit, the ſame diſintereſtedneſs, and the ſame regard to order, where order is not enforced by the ſeverity of laws, as amongſt the Indians.

The Indians have the moſt ſovereign contempt for any ſet of people that have tamely relinquiſhed their liberty; and they conſider ſuch as have loſt it, even after a hard ſtruggle, as unworthy any rank in ſociety above that of old women: to this cauſe, and not to the difference that ſubſiſts between their perſons, is to be attributed, I conceive, the rooted averſion which the Indians univerſally have for negroes. You could not poſſibly affront an Indian more readily, than by telling him that you think he bears ſome reſemblance to a negro; or that he has negro blood in his veins: they look upon them as animals inferior to the human ſpecies, and will kill them with as much unconcern as a dog or a cat.

An American officer, who, during the war with Great Britain, had been ſent to one of the Indian nations reſident on the weſtern frontier of the States, to perſuade them to remain neuter in the conteſt, informed me, that whilſt he remained amongſt them ſome agents arrived in their village to negociate, if poſſible, for the releaſe of ſome negro ſlaves whom they had carried off from the American ſettlements. One of theſe negroes, a remarkably tall handſome fellow, had been given to an Indian woman of ſome conſequence in the nation, in the manner in which priſoners are uſually diſpoſed of amongſt them. Application was made to her for his ranſom. She liſtened quietly to what was ſaid; reſolved at the ſame time, however, that the fellow ſhould not have his liberty, ſhe ſtepped aſide into her cabin, and having brought out a large knife, walked up to her ſlave, and without more ado plunged it into his bowels: "Now," ſays ſhe, addreſſing herſelf coolly to the agents; "now I give you leave to take away your negro." The poor creature that had been ſtabbed fell to the ground, and lay writhing about in the greateſt agonies, until one of the warriors took compaſſion on him, and put an end to his miſery by a blow of a tomahawk.

At Detroit, Niagara, and ſome other places in Upper Canada, a few negroes are ſtill held in bondage. Two of theſe hapleſs people contrived, whilſt we remained at Malden, to make their eſcape from Detroit, by ſtealing a boat, and proceeding in the night down the river. As the wind would not permit them to croſs the lake, it was conjectured that they would be induced to coaſt along the ſhore until they reached a place of ſafety; in hopes, therefore, of being able to recover them, the proprietor came down to Malden, and there procured two truſty Indians to go in queſt of them. The Indians, having received a deſcription of their perſons, ſet out; but had ſcarcely proceeded an hundred yards, when one of them, who could ſpeak a few words of Engliſh, returned, to aſk the proprietor if he would give him permiſſion to ſcalp the negroes if they were at all refractory, or refuſed coming. His requeſt was peremptorily refuſed, for it was well known that, had it been granted, he would have at once killed them to avoid the trouble of bringing them back. "Well," ſays he, "if you will not let me ſcalp both, you won't be

"angry

" angry with me, I hope, if I ſcalp one." He was told in anſwer, that he muſt bring them both back alive. This circumſtance appeared to mortify him extremely, and he was beginning to heſitate about going, when, ſorry am I to ſay, the proprietor, fearful leſt the fellows ſhould eſcape from him, gave his aſſent to the Indian's requeſt, but at the ſame time he begged that he would not deſtroy them if he could poſſibly avoid it. What the reſult was I never learned; but from the apparent ſatisfaction with which the Indian ſet out after he had obtained his dreadful permiſſion, there was every reaſon to imagine that one of the negroes at leaſt would be ſacrificed.

This indifference in the mind of the Indians about taking away the life of a fellow creature, makes them appear, it muſt be confeſſed, in a very unamiable point of view. I fear alſo, that in the opinion of many people, all the good qualities which they poſſeſs, would but ill atone for their revengeful diſpoſition, and for the cruelties which, it is well known, they ſometimes inflict upon the priſoners who have fallen into their power in battle. Great pains have been taken, both by the French and Engliſh miſſionaries, to repreſent to them the infamy of torturing their priſoners; nor have theſe pains been beſtowed in vain; for though in ſome recent inſtances it has appeared that they ſtill retain a fondneſs for this horrid practice, yet I will venture, from what I have heard, to aſſert, that of late years not one priſoner has been put to the torture, where twenty would have been a hundred years ago. Of the priſoners that fell into their hands on St. Clair's defeat, I could not learn, although I made ſtrict enquiries on the ſubject, that a ſingle man had been faſtened to the ſtake. As ſoon as the defeat was known, rewards were held out by the Britiſh officers, and others that had influence over them, to bring in their priſoners alive, and the greater part of them were delivered up unhurt; but to irradicate wholly from their breaſts the ſpirit of revenge has been found impoſſible. You will be enabled to form a tolerable idea of the little good effect which education has over their minds in this reſpect, from the following anecdotes of Captain Joſeph Brandt, a war chief of the Mohawk nation.

This

This Brandt, at a very early age, was ſent to a college in New England, where, being poſſeſſed of a good capacity, he ſoon made very conſiderable progreſs in the Greek and Latin languages. Uncommon pains were taken to inſtil into his mind the truths of the goſpel. He profeſſed himſelf to be a warm admirer of the principles of chriſtianity, and in hopes of being able to convert his nation on returning to them, he abſolutely tranſlated the goſpel of St. Matthew into the Mohawk language; he alſo tranſlated the eſtabliſhed form of prayer of the church of England. Before Brandt, however, had finiſhed his courſe of ſtudies, the American war broke out, and fired with that ſpirit of glory which ſeems to have been implanted by nature in the breaſt of the Indian, he immediately quitted the college, repaired to his native village, and ſhortly afterwards, with a conſiderable body of his nation, joined ſome Britiſh troops under the command of Sir John Johnſton. Here he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour in many different engagements, and was ſoon raiſed, not only to the rank of a war chief, but alſo to that of a captain in his Majeſty's ſervice.

It was not long, however, before Brandt ſullied his reputation in the Britiſh army. A ſkirmiſh took place with a body of American troops; the action was warm, and Brandt was ſhot by a muſquet-ball in the heel; but the Americans in the end were defeated, and an officer with about ſixty men taken priſoners. The officer, after having delivered up his ſword, had entered into converſation with Colonel Johnſton, who commanded the Britiſh troops, and they were talking together in the moſt friendly manner, when Brandt, having ſtolen ſlily behind them, laid the American officer lifeleſs on the ground with a blow of his tomahawk. The indignation of Sir John Johnſton, as may readily be ſuppoſed, was roufed by ſuch an act of treachery, and he reſented it in the warmeſt language. Brandt liſtened to him unconcernedly, and when he had finiſhed, told him, that he was ſorry what he had done had cauſed his diſpleaſure, but that indeed his heel was extremely painful at the moment, and he could not help revenging himſelf on the only chief of the party that he ſaw taken. Since he had killed the officer, his heel, he added, was much leſs painful to him than it had been before.

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When the war broke out, the Mohawks reſided on the Mohawk River, in the ſtate of New York, but on peace being made, they emigrated into Upper Canada, and their principal village is now ſituated on the Grand River, which falls into Lake Erie on the north ſide, about ſixty miles from the town of Newark or Niagara; there Brandt at preſent reſides. He has built a comfortable habitation for himſelf, and any ſtranger that viſits him may reſt aſſured of being well received, and of finding a plentiful table well ſerved every day. He has no leſs than thirty or forty negroes, who attend to his horſes, cultivate his grounds, &c. Theſe poor creatures are kept in the greateſt ſubjection, and they dare not attempt to make their eſcape, for he has aſſured them, that if they did ſo he would follow them himſelf, though it were to the confines of Georgia, and would tomahawk them wherever he met them. They know his diſpoſition too well not to think that he would adhere ſtrictly to his word.

Brandt receives from government half pay as a captain, beſides annual preſents, &c. which in all amount, it is ſaid, to £.500 per annum. We had no ſmall curioſity, as you may well imagine, to ſee this Brandt, and we procured letters of introduction to him from the governor's ſecretary, and from different officers and gentlemen of his acquaintance, with an intention of proceeding from Newark to his village. Moſt unluckily, however, on the day before that of our reaching the town of Newark or Niagara, he had embarked on board a veſſel for Kingſton, at the oppoſite end of the lake. You may judge of Brandt's conſequence, when I tell you, that a lawyer of Niagara, who croſſed Lake Ontario in the ſame veſſel with us, from Kingſton, where he had been detained for ſome time by contrary winds, informed us, the day after our arrival at Niagara, that by his not having reached that place in time to tranſact ſome law buſineſs for Brandt, and which had conſequently been given to another perſon, he ſhould be a loſer of one hundred pounds at leaſt.

Brandt's ſagacity led him, early in life, to diſcover that the Indians had been made the dupe of every foreign power that had got footing in America; and, indeed, could he have had any doubts on the ſubject, they would have been removed when he ſaw the Britiſh, after having demanded

demanded and received the aſſiſtanee of the Indians in the American war, ſo ungenerouſly and unjuſtly yield up the whole of the Indian territories, eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi and ſouth of the lakes, to the people of the United States; to the very enemies, in ſhort, they had made to themſelves at the requeſt of the Britiſh. He perceived with regret that the Indians, by eſpouſing the quarrels of the whites, and by eſpouſing different intereſts, were weakening themſelves; whereas, if they remained aloof, and were guided by the one policy, they would ſoon become formidable, and be treated with more reſpect; he formed the bold ſcheme, thereſore, of uniting the Indians together in one grand confederacy, and for this purpoſe ſent meſſengers to different chiefs, propoſing that a general meeting ſhould be held of the heads of every tribe, to take the ſubject into conſideration; but certain of the tribes, ſuſpicious of Brandt's deſigns, and fearful that he was bent upon acquiring power for himſelf by this meaſure, oppoſed it with all their might. Brandt has in conſequence become extremely obnoxious to many of the moſt warlike, and with ſuch a jealous eye do they now regard him, that it would not be perfectly ſafe for him to venture to the upper country.

He has managed the affairs of his own people with great ability, and leaſed out their ſuperfluous lands for them, for long terms of years, by which meaſure a certain annual revenue is enſured to the nation, probably as long as it will remain a nation. He wiſely judged, that it was much better to do ſo than to ſuffer the Mohawks, as many other tribes had done, to ſell their poſſeſſions by piecemeal, the ſums of money they received for which, however great, would ſoon be diſſipated if paid to them at once.

Whenever the affairs of his nation ſhall permit him to do ſo, Brandt declares it to be his intention to ſit down to the further ſtudy of the Greek language, of which he profeſſes himſelf to be a great admirer, and to tranſlate from the original, into the Mohawk language, more of the New Teſtament; yet this ſame man, ſhortly before we arrived at Niagara, killed his only ſon with his own hand. The ſon, it ſeems, was a drunken good for nothing fellow, who had often avowed his intention

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of deſtroying his father. One evening he abſolutely entered the apartment of his father, and had begun to grapple with him, perhaps with a view to put his unnatural threats into execution, when Brandt drew a ſhort ſword, and felled him to the ground. Brandt ſpeaks of this affair with regret, but at the ſame time without any of that emotion which another perſon than an Indian might be ſuppoſed to feel. He conſoles himſelf for the act, by thinking that he has benefitted the nation, by ridding them of a raſcal.

Brandt wears his hair in the Indian ſtyle, and alſo the Indian dreſs; inſtead of the wrapper, or blanket, he wears a ſhort coat, ſuch as I have deſcribed, ſimilar to a hunting frock.

Though infinite pains have been taken by the French Roman Catholics, and other miſſionaries, to propagate the goſpel amongſt the Indians, and though many different tribes have been induced thereby to ſubmit to baptiſm, yet it does not appear, except in very few inſtances, that any material advantages have reſulted from the introduction of the Chriſtian religion amongſt them. They have learned to repeat certain forms of prayer; they have learned to attend to certain outward ceremonies; but they ſtill continue to be ſwayed by the ſame violent paſſions as before, and have imbibed nothing of the genuine ſpirit of chriſtianity.

The Moravian miſſionaries have wrought a greater change in the minds of the Indians than any others, and have ſucceeded ſo far as to induce ſome of them to abandon their ſavage mode of life, to renounce war, and to cultivate the earth. It is with the Munſies, a ſmall tribe reſident on the eaſt ſide of Lake St. Clair, that they have had the moſt ſucceſs; but the number that have been ſo converted is ſmall indeed. The Roman Catholics have the moſt adherents, as the outward forms and parade of their religion are particularly calculated to ſtrike the attention of the Indians, and as but little reſtraint is laid on them by the miſſionaries of that perſuaſion, in conſequence of their profeſſion of the new faith. The Quakers, of all people, have had the leaſt ſucceſs amongſt them; the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, which they ſet out with preaching, but ill accords with the opinion of the Indian; and amongſt ſome tribes,

where they have attempted to inculcate it, particularly amongſt the Shawneſe, one of the moſt warlike tribes to the north of the Ohio, they have been expoſed to very imminent danger *.

The Indians, who yet remain ignorant of divine revelation, ſeem almoſt univerſally to believe in the exiſtence of one ſupreme, beneficent, all wiſe, and all powerful ſpirit, and likewiſe in the exiſtence of ſubordinate ſpirits, both good and bad. The former, having the good of mankind at heart, they think it needleſs to pay homage to them, and it is only to the evil ones, of whom they have an innate dread, that they pay their devotions, in order to avert their ill intentions. Some diſtant tribes, it is ſaid, have prieſts amongſt them, but it does not appear that they have any regular forms of worſhip. Each individual repeats a prayer, or makes an offering to the evil ſpirit, when his fear and apprehenſions ſuggeſt the neceſſity of his ſo doing.

The belief of a future ſtate, in which they are to enjoy the ſame pleaſures as they do in this world, but to be exempted from pain, and from the trouble of procuring food, ſeems to be very general amongſt them. Some of the tribes have much leſs devotion than others; the Shawneſe, a warlike daring nation, have but very little fear of evil ſpirits, and conſequently have ſcarcely any religion amongſt them. None of this nation, that I could learn, have ever been converted to Chriſtianity.

It is a very ſingular and remarkable circumſtance, that notwithſtanding the ſtriking ſimilarity which we find in the perſons, manners, cuſtoms, diſpoſitions, and religion of the different tribes of Indians from one end of the continent of North America to the other, a ſimilarity ſo great

* The great difficulty of converting the Indians to chriſtianity does not ariſe from their attachment to their own religion, where they have any, ſo much as from certain habits which they ſeem to have imbibed with the very milk of their mothers.

A French miſſionary relates, that he was once endeavouring to convert an Indian, by deſcribing to him the rewards that would attend the good, and the dreadful puniſhment which muſt inevitably await the wicked, in a future world, when the Indian, who had ſome time before loſt his deareſt friend, ſuddenly interrupted him, by aſking him, whether he thought his departed friend was gone to heaven or to hell. I ſincerely truſt, anſwered the miſſionary, that he is in heaven. Then I will do as you bid me, added the Indian, and lead a ſober life, for I ſhould like to go to the place where my friend is. Had he, on the contrary, been told that his friend was in hell, all that the reverend father could have ſaid to him of fire and brimſtone would have been of little avail in perſuading him to have led any other than the moſt diſſolute life, in hopes of meeting with his friend to ſympathiſe with him under his ſufferings.

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as hardly to leave a doubt on the mind but that they muſt all have had the ſame origin, the languages of the different tribes ſhould yet be ſo materially different. No two tribes ſpeak exactly the ſame language; and the languages of many of thoſe, who live at no great diſtance aſunder, vary ſo much, that they cannot make themſelves at all underſtood to each other. I was informed that the Chippeway language was by far the moſt general, and that a perſon intimately acquainted with it would ſoon be able to acquire a tolerable knowledge of any other language ſpoken between the Ohio and Lake Superior. Some perſons, who have made the Indian languages their ſtudy, aſſert, that all the different languages ſpoken by thoſe tribes, with which we have any connection, are but dialects of three primitive tongues, viz. the Huron, the Algonquin, and the Sioux; the two former of which, being well underſtood, will enable a perſon to converſe, at leaſt ſlightly, with the Indians of any tribe in Canada or the United States. All the nations that ſpeak a language derived from the Sioux, have, it is ſaid, a hiſſing pronunciation; thoſe who ſpeak one derived from the Huron, have a guttural pronunciation; and ſuch as ſpeak any one derived from the Algonquin, pronounce their words with greater ſoftneſs and eaſe than any of the others. Whether this be a juſt diſtinction or not I cannot pretend to determine; I ſhall only obſerve, that all the Indian men I ever met with, as well thoſe whoſe language is ſaid to be derived from the Huron, as thoſe whoſe language is derived from the Algonquin, appear to me to have very few labial ſounds in their language, and to pronounce the words from the throat, but not ſo much from the upper as the lower part of the throat towards the breaſt. A ſlight degree of heſitation is obſervable in their ſpeech, and they articulate ſeemingly with difficulty, and in a manner ſomewhat ſimilar to what a perſon, I ſhould ſuppoſe, would be apt to do if he had a great weight laid on his cheſt, or had received a blow on his breaſt or back ſo violent as to affect his breath. The women, on the contrary, ſpeak with the utmoſt eaſe, and the language, as pronounced by them, appears as ſoft as the Italian. They have, without exception, the moſt delicate harmonious voices I ever heard, and the moſt pleaſing gentle laugh that it is poſſible to conceive. I have oftentimes

ſat amongſt a group of them for an hour or two together, merely for the pleaſure of liſtening to their converſation, on account of its wonderful ſoftneſs and delicacy.

The Indians, both men and women, ſpeak with great deliberation, and never appear to be at a loſs for words to expreſs their ſentiments.

The native muſic of the Indians is very rude and indifferent, and equally devoid of melody and variety. Their famous war ſong is nothing better than an inſipid recitative. Singing and dancing with them go hand in hand; and when a large number of them, collected together, join in the one ſong, the few wild notes of which it conſiſts, mingled with the ſound of their pipes and drums, ſometimes produce, when heard at a diſtance, a pleaſing effect on the ear; but it is then and then only that their muſic is tolerable.

The firſt night of our arrival at Malden, juſt as we were retiring to reſt, near midnight, we were moſt agreeably entertained in this manner with the ſound of their muſic on the iſland of Bois Blanc. Eager to hear more of it, and to be witneſs to their dancing, we procured a boat, and immediately croſſed the river to the ſpot where they were aſſembled. Three elderly men, ſeated under a tree, were the principal muſicians. One of theſe beat a ſmall drum, formed of a piece of a hollow tree covered with a ſkin, and the two others marked time equally with the drum, with rattles formed of dried ſquaſhes or gourds filled with peaſe. At the ſame time theſe men ſung, indeed they were the leaders of the ſong, which the dancers joined in. The dancers conſiſted ſolely of a party of ſquaws, to the number of twenty or thereabouts, who, ſtanding in a circle, with their faces inwards and their hands folded round each other's necks, moved, thus linked together, ſideways, with cloſe ſhort ſteps, round a ſmall fire. The men and women never dance together, unleſs indeed a pretty ſquaw be introduced by ſome young fellow into one of the men's dances, which is conſidered as a very great mark of favour. This is of a piece with the general conduct of the Indians, who look upon the women in a totally different light from what we do in Europe, and condemn them as ſlaves to do all the drudgery. I have ſeen a young chief with no leſs than three women attendant on him to run after his arrows, when he was amuſing himſelf

himſelf with ſhooting ſquirrels; I have alſo ſeen Indians, when moving for a few miles from one place to another, mount their horſes and canter away at their eaſe, whilſt their women were left not only to walk, but to carry very heavy loads on their backs after them.

After the women had danced for a time, a larger fire was kindled, and the men aſſembled from different parts of the iſland, to the number of fifty or ſixty, to amuſe themſelves in their turn. There was little more variety in their dancing than in that of the women. They firſt walked round the fire in a large circle, cloſely, one after another, marking time with ſhort ſteps to the muſic; the beſt dancer was put at their head, and gave the ſtep; he was alſo the principal ſinger in the circle. After having made one round, the ſtep was altered to a wider one, and they began to ſtamp with great vehemence upon the ground; and every third or fourth round, making little leaps off the ground with both feet, they turned their faces to the fire and bowed their heads, at the ſame time going on ſideways. At laſt, having made a dozen or two rounds, towards the end of which each one of them had begun to ſtamp on the ground with inconceivable fury, but more particularly the principal dancer, they all gave a loud ſhout at once, and the dance ended.

In two or three minutes another dance was begun, which ended as ſoon, and nearly in the ſame way as the other. There was but little difference in the figures of any of them, and the only material difference in the ſongs was, that in ſome of them the dancers, inſtead of ſinging the whole of the air, came in ſimply with reſponſes to the airs ſung by the old men. They beckoned to us to join them in their dance, which we immediately did, as it was likely to pleaſe them, and we remained on the iſland with them till two or three o'clock in the morning. There is ſomething inconceivably terrible in the ſight of a number of Indians dancing thus round a fire in the depths of thick woods, and the loud ſhrieks at the end of every dance adds greatly to the horror which their firſt appearance inſpires.

Scarcely a night paſſed over but what there were dances, ſimilar to thoſe I have deſcribed, on the iſland. They never think of dancing till the night is conſiderably advanced, and they keep it up till daybreak.

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In the day time they lie ſleeping in the ſun, or ſit ſmoking tobacco, that is, when they have nothing particular to engage them. Though the moſt diligent perſevering people in the world when rouſed into action, yet when at peace with their neighbours, and having got wherewith to ſatisfy the calls of hunger, they are the moſt ſlothful and indolent poſſible.

The dances mentioned are ſuch as the Indians amuſe themſelves with in common. On grand occaſions they have a variety of others much more intereſting to a ſpectator. The dances which you ſee in common amongſt the Shawneſe, and certain other tribes, are alſo, it is ſaid, much more entertaining than thoſe I have deſcribed. There were ſeveral families of the Shawneſe encamped on the iſland of Bois Blanc when we were there; but as there was not a ſufficient number to form a dance by themſelves, we were never gratified with a ſight of their performances.

Of their grand dances the war dance muſt undoubtedly, from every account I have received of it, for I never had any opportunity of ſeeing it myſelf, be the one moſt worthy the attention of a ſtranger. It is performed both on ſetting out and returning from their war parties, and likewiſe at other times, but never except on ſome very particular and ſolemn occaſion. The chiefs and warriors who are about to join in this dance dreſs and paint themſelves as if actually out on a warlike expedition, and they carry in their hands their warlike weapons. Being aſſembled, they ſeat themſelves down on their hams, in a circle, round a great fire, near to which is placed a large poſt; after remaining a ſhort time in this poſition, one of the principal chiefs riſes, and placing himſelf in the center, begins to rehearſe, in a ſort of recitative, all the gallant actions which he has ever performed; he dwells particularly on the number of enemies he has killed, and deſcribes the manner in which he ſcalped them, making geſtures all the time, and brandiſhing his weapons, as if actually engaged in performing the horrid operation. At the end of every remarkable ſtory he ſtrikes his war club on the poſt with great fury. Every chief and warrior tells of his deeds in turn. The ſong of one warrior often occupies ſeveral hours, and the dance itſelf

ſometimes laſts for three or four entire days and nights. During this period no one is allowed to ſleep, a perſon who ſtands at the outſide of the circle being appointed (whoſe buſineſs it is) to rouſe any warrior that appears in the leaſt drowſy. A deer, a bear, or ſome other large animal is put to roaſt at the fire as ſoon as the dance begins, and while it laſts each warrior riſes at will to help himſelf to a piece of it. After each perſon in the circle has in turn told of his exploits, they all riſe, and join in a dance truly terrifying; they throw themſelves into a variety of poſtures, and leaping about in the moſt frantic manner, brandiſh their knives and other weapons; at the ſame time they ſet up the war hoop, and utter the moſt dreadful yells imaginable. In this manner the dance terminates.

The Indian flute or pipe is formed of a thick cane, ſimilar to what is found on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, and in the ſouthern parts of the United States. It is about two feet or more in length, and has eight or nine holes in it, in one row. It is held in the ſame manner as the oboe or clarinet, and the ſound is produced by means of a mouth piece not unlike that of a common whiſtle. The tones of the inſtrument are by no means unharmonious, and they would admit of a pleaſing modulation, but I never met with an Indian that was able to play a regular air upon it, not even any one of the airs which they commonly ſing, although I ſaw ſeveral that were extremely fond of amuſing themſelves with the inſtrument, and that would ſit for hours together over the embers of their cabin fires, playing over a few wild melancholy notes. Every Indian that can bring a ſound out of the inſtrument, and ſtop the holes, which any one may do, thinks himſelf maſter of it; and the notes which they commonly produce are as unconnected and unmeaning as thoſe which a child would bring forth from a halfpenny whiſtle.

In addition to what I have ſaid on the ſubject of the Indians, I ſhall only obſerve, that notwithſtanding they are ſuch a very friendly hoſpitable people, yet few perſons, who had ever taſted of the pleaſures and comforts of civilized life, would feel any inclination to reſide a[illegible] them,

them, on becoming acquainted with their manner of living. The filthineſs and wretchedneſs of their ſmoky habitations, the nauſeouſneſs of their common food to a perſon not even of a delicate palate, and their general uncleanlineſs, would be ſufficient, I think, to deter any one from going to live amongſt them from choice, ſuppoſing even that no other reaſons operated againſt his doing ſo. For my own part, I had fully determined in my own mind, when I firſt came to America, not to leave the continent without ſpending a conſiderable time amongſt them, in the interior parts of the country, in order to have an opportunity of obſerving their native manners and cuſtoms in their utmoſt purity; but the ſamples I have ſeen of them during my ſtay in this part of the country, although it has given me a moſt favourable opinion of the Indians themſelves, has induced me to relinquiſh my purpoſe. Content therefore with what I have ſeen myſelf, and with what I have heard from others, if chance ſhould not bring me again into their way in proſecuting my journey into the ſettled parts of the States, I ſhall take no further pains to cultivate a more intimate acquaintance with them.

LETTER XXXVI.

Departure from Malden.—Storm on Lake Erie.—Driven back amongſt the Iſlands.—Shipwreck narrowly avoided.—Voyage acroſs the Lake.—Land at Fort Erie.—Proceed to Buffalo Creek.—Engage Indians to go through the Woods.—Set out on Foot.—Journey through the Woods.—Deſcription of the Country beyond Buffalo Creek.—Vaſt Plains.—Grand Appearance of the Trees here.—Indian Dogs.—Arrival at the Settlements on Geneſee River.—Firſt Settlers.—Their general Character.—Deſcription of the Country bordering on Geneſee River.—Fevers common in Autumn.—Proceed on Foot to Bath.

Bath, November.

TOWARDS the latter end of the month of October, the ſchooner in which we had engaged a paſſage to Preſqu' Iſle made her appearance before Malden, where ſhe was obliged to lay at anchor for three days, the wind not being favourable for going farther down the river; at the end of that time, however, it veered about, and we repaired on board, after having taken a long farewel of our friend Captain E——, whoſe kindneſs to us had been unbounded, and was doubly grateful, inaſmuch as it was totally unexpected by us young ſtrangers, who had not the ſlighteſt acquaintance with him previous to our coming into the country, and had not been introduced to him even by letter.

The wind, though favourable, was very light on the morning of our embarkation, but the current being ſtrong we were ſoon carried down to the lake. In the afternoon we paſſed the iſlands, which had the moſt beautiful appearance imaginable. The rich woods with which the ſhores were adorned, now tinged with the hues of autumn, afforded in their decline a ſtill more pleaſing variety to the eye than when they were clothed in their fulleſt verdure; and their gaudy colours, intermingled with the ſhadows of the rocks, were ſeen fancifully reflected in the unruffled ſurface of the ſurrounding lake. At day-break the next morning we found ourſelves entirely clear of the land; but inſtead of the

azure ſky and gentle breezes which had favoured us the preceding day, we had thick hazy weather, and every appearance in the heavens indicated that before many hours were over we ſhould have to contend with ſome of thoſe dangerous ſtorms that are ſo frequent on Lake Erie. It was not long indeed ere the winds began to blow, and the waves to riſe in a tremendous manner, and we ſoon became ſpectators of a number of thoſe confuſed and diſguſting ſcenes which a gale of wind never fails to occaſion in a ſmall veſſel crowded with paſſengers. A number of old French ladies, who were going to ſee their grandchildren in Lower Canada, and who now for the firſt time in their lives found themſelves on the water, occupied the cabin. The hold of the veſſel, boarded from end to end, and divided ſimply by a ſail ſuſpended from one of the beams, was filled on one ſide with ſteerage paſſengers, amongſt which were ſeveral women and children; and on the oppoſite one with paſſengers who had paid cabin price, but were unable to get any better accommodation, amongſt which number was our party. Not including either the old ladies in the cabin, or the ſteerage paſſengers, we ſat down to dinner each day twenty-ſix in number, which circumſtance, when I inform you that the veſſel was only ſeventy tons burthen, will beſt enable you to conceive how much we muſt have been crowded. The greater part of the paſſengers, drooping under ſea-ſickneſs, begged for heaven's ſake that the captain would put back; but bent upon performing his voyage with expedition, which was a matter of the utmoſt conſequence indeed, now that the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, and there was a poſſibility that he might be blocked up by the ice on his return, he was deaf to their entreaties. What the earneſt entreaties, however, of the paſſengers could not effect, the ſtorm ſoon compelled him to. It was found abſolutely neceſſary to ſeek for a place of ſhelter to avoid its fury; and accordingly the helm having been ordered up, we made the beſt of our way back again to the iſlands, in a bay between two of which we caſt anchor. This bay, ſituated between the Baſs Iſlands, which are among the largeſt in the cluſter, is called, from its being ſo frequently reſorted to by veſſels that meet with contrary winds

winds in going down the lake, Put-in-Bay, vulgarly termed by the ſailors Pudding Bay.

Here we lay ſecurely ſheltered by the land until four o'clock the next morning, when the watch upon deck gave the alarm that the veſſel was driving from her anchor, and going faſt towards the ſhore. The captain ſtarted up, and perceiving that the wind had ſhifted, and the land no longer afforded any protection to the veſſel, he immediately gave orders to ſlip the cable, and hoiſt the jib, in order to wear the veſſel round, and thus get free, if poſſible, of the ſhore. In the hurry and confuſion of the moment, however, the mainſail was hoiſted at the ſame time with the jib, the veſſel was put aback, and nothing could have ſaved her from going at once on ſhore but the letting fall of another anchor inſtantaneouſly. I can only account for this unfortunate miſtake by ſuppoſing that the men were not ſufficiently roufed from their ſlumbers, on coming upon deck, to hear diſtinctly the word of command. Only one man had been left to keep the watch, as it was thought that the veſſel was riding in perfect ſafety, and from the time that the alarm was firſt given until the anchor was dropped ſcarcely four minutes elapſed.

The dawn of day only enabled us to ſee all the danger of our ſituation. We were within one hundred yards of a rocky lee ſhore, and depending upon one anchor, which, if the gale increaſed, the captain feared very much would not hold. The day was wet and ſqually, and the appearance of the ſky gave us every reaſon to imagine that the weather, inſtead of growing moderate, would become ſtill more tempeſtuous than it either was or had been; nevertheleſs, buoyed up by hope, and by a good ſhare of animal ſpirits, we eat our breakfaſts regardleſs of the impending danger, and afterwards ſat down to a game of cards; but ſcarcely had we played for one hour when the diſmal cry was heard of, "All "hands aloft," as the veſſel was again drifting towards the ſhore. The day being very cold, I had thrown a blanket over my ſhoulders, and had faſtened it round my waiſt with a girdle, in the Indian faſhion; but being incapable of managing it like an Indian, I ſtopped to diſencumber myſelf of it before I went on deck, ſo that, as it happened, I was the laſt man

below. The readieſt way of going up was through the hatchway, and I had juſt got my foot upon the ladder, in order to aſcend, when the veſſel ſtruck with great force upon the rocks. The women ſhrieking now flocked round me, begging for God's ſake that I would ſtay by them; at the ſame time my companions urged me from above to come up with all poſſible ſpeed. To my lateſt hour I ſhall never forget the emotions which I felt at that moment; to have ſtaid below would have been uſeleſs; I endeavoured, therefore, to comfort the poor creatures that clung to me, and then diſengaging myſelf from them, forced my way upon deck, where I was no ſooner arrived than the hatches were inſtantly ſhut down upon the wretched females, whoſe ſhrieks reſounded through the veſſel, notwithſtanding all the buſtle of the ſeamen, and the tremendous roaring of the breakers amongſt the adjacent rocks.

Before two minutes had paſſed over, the veſſel ſtruck a ſecond time, but with a ſtill greater ſhock; and at the end of a quarter of an hour, during which period ſhe had gradually approached nearer towards the ſhore, ſhe began to ſtrike with the fall of every wave.

The general opinion now ſeemed to be in favour of cutting away the maſts, in order to lighten the veſſel; and the axes were actually upraiſed for that purpoſe, when one of my companions, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of nautical knowledge from having been in the navy, oppoſed the meaſure. It appeared to him, that as the pumps were ſtill free, and as the veſſel had not yet made more water than could be eaſily got under, the cutting away of the maſts would only be to deprive ourſelves of the means of getting off the rock if the wind ſhould veer about; but he adviſed the captain to have the yards and topmaſts cut away. The maſts were ſpared, and his advice was in every other reſpect attended to. The wind unfortunately, however, ſtill continued to blow from the ſame point, and the only alteration obſervable in it was its blowing with ſtill greater force than ever.

As the ſtorm increaſed, the waves began to roll with greater turbulence than before; and with ſuch impetuoſity did they break over the bows of the veſſel, that it was with the very utmoſt difficulty that I, and half a dozen more who had taken our ſtation on the forecaſtle, could hold

hold by our hands faſt enough to ſave ourſelves from being carried overboard. For upwards of four hours did we remain in this ſituation, expecting every inſtant that the veſſel would go to pieces, and expoſed every three or four minutes to the ſhock of one of the tremendous breakers which came rolling towards us. Many of the billows appeared to be half as high as the foretop, and ſometimes, when they burſt over us, our breath was nearly taken away by the violence of the ſhock. At laſt, finding ourſelves ſo benumbed with cold that it would be impoſſible for us to make any exertions in the water to ſave ourſelves if the veſſel was wrecked, we determined to go below, there to remain until we ſhould be again forced up by the waves.

Some of the paſſengers now began to write their wills on ſcraps of paper, and to incloſe them in what they imagined would be moſt likely to preſerve them from the water; others had begun to take from their trunks what they deemed moſt valuable; and one unfortunate thoughtleſs man, who was moving with his family from the upper country, we diſcovered in the very act of loading himſelf with dollars from head to foot, ſo that had he fallen into the water in the ſtate we found him, he muſt inevitably have been carried to the bottom.

Words can convey no idea of the wildneſs that reigned in the countenance of almoſt every perſon as the night approached; and many, terrified with the apprehenſions of a nightly ſhipwreck, began to lament that the cable had not been at once cut, ſo as to have let the veſſel go on ſhore whilſt day-light remained: this indeed had been propoſed a few hours after the veſſel began to ſtrike; but it was overruled by the captain, who very properly refuſed to adopt a meaſure tending to the immediate and certain deſtruction of his veſſel, whilſt a poſſibility remained that ſhe might eſcape.

Till nine o'clock at night the veſſel kept ſtriking every minute, during which time we were kept in a ſtate of the moſt dreadful ſuſpence about our fate; but then happily the wind ſhifted one or two points in our favour, which occaſioned the veſſel to roll inſtead of ſtriking. At midnight the gale grew ſomewhat more moderate; and at three in the morning it was ſo far abated, that the men were enabled to haul on the anchor,

anchor, and in a ſhort time to bring the veſſel once more into deep water, and out of all danger. Great was the joy, as may well be imagined, which this circumſtance diffuſed amongſt the paſſengers; and well pleaſed was each one, after the fatigue and anxiety of the preceding day, to think he might ſecurely lay himſelf down to reſt.

The next morning the ſun aroſe in all his majeſty from behind one of the diſtant iſlands. The azure ſky was unobſcured by a ſingle cloud, the air felt ſerenely mild, and the birds, as if equally delighted with man that the ſtorm was over, ſweetly warbled forth their ſongs in the adjacent woods; in ſhort, had it not been for the diſordered condition in which we ſaw our veſſel, and every thing belonging to us, the perils we had gone through would have appeared like a dream.

The firſt object of examination was the rudder. The tiller was broken to atoms; and the ſailors who went over the ſtern reported, that of the four gudgeons or hooks on which the rudder was ſuſpended, only one was left entire, and that one was much bent. On being unſhipped, the bottom of it was found to be ſo much ſhivered that it actually reſembled the end of a broom. The keel, there was every reaſon to ſuppoſe, was in the ſame ſhattered condition; nevertheleſs the veſſel, to the great aſtoniſhment of every perſon on board, did not make much water. Had ſhe been half as crazy as the King's veſſel in which we went up the lake, nothing could have ſaved her from deſtruction.

A conſultation was now held upon what was beſt to be done. To proceed on the voyage appeared totally out of the queſtion; and it only remained to determine which way was the eaſieſt and readieſt to get back to Malden. All was at a ſtand, when an officer in the American ſervice propoſed the beating out of an iron crow bar, and the manufacturing of new gudgeons. This was thought to be impracticable; but neceſſity, the mother of invention, having ſet all our heads to work, an anvil was formed of a number of axes laid upon a block of wood; a large fire was kindled, and a party of us acting as ſmiths in turns, by the end of three hours contrived to hammer out one very reſpectable gudgeon.

In the mean time others of the paſſengers were employed in making a new tiller, and others undertook to fiſh for the cable and anchor that had

had been ſlipped, whilſt the ſailors were kept buſily employed at the rigging. By nightfall the veſſel was ſo far refitted that no apprehenſions were any longer entertained about our being able to reach Malden in ſafety, and ſome began to think there would be no danger in proſecuting the voyage down the lake. The captain ſaid that his conduct muſt be regulated entirely by the appearance of the weather on the following day.

Early the next morning, whilſt we yet remained ſtretched in our births, our party was much ſurpriſed at hearing the ſound of ſtrange voices upon deck; but our ſurpriſe was ſtill greater, when on a nearer approach we recognized them to be the voices of two young friends of ours, who, like ourſelves, had croſſed the Atlantic to make a tour of the continent of North America, and whom, but a few days before we had quitted Philadelphia, we had accompanied ſome miles from that city on their way towards the ſouth. They had travelled, it ſeemed, from Philadelphia to Virginia, afterwards to Kentucky, and had found their way from the Ohio to Detroit on horſeback, after encountering numberleſs inconveniences. There they had engaged a paſſage in a little ſloop bound to Fort Erie, the laſt veſſel which was to quit that port during the preſent ſeaſon. They had embarked the preceding day, and in the night had run in to Put-in-Bay, as the wind was not favourable for going down the lake. The commander of the ſloop offered to ſtay by our veſſel, and to give her every aſſiſtance in his power, if our captain choſe to proceed down the lake with him. The offer was gladly accepted, and it was agreed that the two veſſels ſhould ſail together as ſoon as the wind was favourable.

After having breakfaſted, we proceeded with our young friends, in the ſhip's boat, to that part of the iſland off which we had been expoſed to ſo much danger. Here we found the ſhore ſtrewed with the oars, ſpars, &c. which had been waſhed overboard, and from the dreadful manner in which they were ſhattered, no doubt remained on our minds, but that if the veſſel had been wrecked, two thirds of the paſſengers at leaſt muſt have periſhed amidſt the rocks and breakers. We ſpent the day rambling about the woods, and recounting to each other our adventures

ſince the laſt ſeparation, and in the evening returned to our reſpective ſhips. About midnight the wind became fair, and whilſt we lay wrapt in ſleep the veſſels put to ſea.

All hopes of being able to get on ſhore at Preſqu' Iſle were now over, for the captain, as our veſſel was in ſuch a tickliſh condition, was fearful of venturing in there, leſt he might loſe ſight of the ſloop; we made up our minds, therefore, for being carried once more to our old quarters, Fort Erie; and after a moſt diſagreeable paſſage of four days, during which we encountered ſeveral ſqualls not a little alarming, landed there in ſafety.

Our friends immediately ſet out for Newark, from whence, if the ſeaſon would admit of it, and a favourable opportunity offered, they propoſed to ſail to Kingſton, and proceed afterwards to Lower Canada; we, on the contrary, deſirous of returning by a different route from that by which we had come up the country, croſſed over to Buffalo Creek, in hopes of being able to procure horſes at the Indian village there, to carry us through the Geneſee country. To our diſappointment we found, that all the Indians of the village who had horſes had already ſet out with them on their hunting expedition; but the interpreters told us, that if we would conſent to walk through the woods, as far as the ſettlements of the white people, the neareſt of which was ninety miles from Buffalo Creek, he did not doubt but that he could find Indians in the village who would undertake to carry our baggage for us; and that once arrived at the back ſettlements, we ſhould find it no difficult matter to hire horſes. We readily agreed to his propoſals, and he in conſequence ſoon picked out from the Indians five men, amongſt which was a war chief, on whom he told us we might place every reliance, as he was a man of an excellent character. The Indians, it was ſettled, were to have five dollars apiece for their ſervices, and we were to furniſh them with proviſions and liquor. The interpreter, who was a white man, put us on our guard againſt giving them too much of the latter; but he adviſed us always to give them ſome whenever we took any ourſelves, and adviſed us alſo to eat with them, and to behave towards them in every reſpect as if they were our equals. We had already

ſeen

ſeen enough of the Indians, to know that this advice was good, and indeed to have adopted of ourſelves the line of conduct which he recommended, even if he had ſaid nothing on the ſubject.

Having arranged every thing to our ſatisfaction, we returned to Fort Erie; there we diſpoſed of all our ſuperfluous baggage, and having made ſome addition to the ſtores of dried proviſions and biſcuits which our kind friend Captain E—— had furniſhed us with on leaving his hoſpitable roof, we embarked, with all belonging to us, in the ſhip's boat, for the village on Buffalo Creek, where we had ſettled to paſs the night, in order to be ready to ſtart early the next morning.

The Indians were with us according to appointment at day break; they divided the baggage, faſtened their loads each on their carrying frames, and appeared perfectly ready to depart, when their chief requeſted, through the interpreter, "that we would give them before they ſet out "a little of that precious water we poſſeſſed, to waſh their eyes with, "which would diſpel the miſts of ſleep that ſtill hung over them, and "thus enable them to find out with certainty the intricate path through "the thick foreſt we were about to traverſe;" in other words, that we would give them ſome brandy. It is always in figurative language of this kind that the Indians aſk for ſpirits. We diſpenſed a glaſs full of the precious liquor, according to their deſire, to each of them, as well as to their ſquaws and children, whom they brought along with them to ſhare our bounty, and then, the Indians having taken up their loads, we penetrated into the woods, along a narrow path ſcarcely diſcernible, owing to the quantities of withered leaves with which it was ſtrewed.

After proceeding a few miles, we ſtopped by the ſide of a little ſtream of clear water to breakfaſt; on the banks of another ſtream we eat our dinner; and at a third we ſtopped for the night. Having laid down their loads, the Indians immediately began to erect poles, and cover them with pieces of bark, which they found lying on the ground, and which had evidently been left there by ſome travellers who had taken up their quarters for the night at this ſame place ſome time before; but we put a ſtop to their work, by ſhaking out from the bag in which it

was depoſited, our travelling tent. They perceived now that they muſt employ themſelves in a different manner, and knowing perfectly well what was to be done, they at once ſet to work with their tomahawks in cutting poles and pegs. In leſs than five minutes, as we all bore a part, the poles and pegs were cut, and the tent pitched.

One of the Indians now made ſigns to us to lend him a bag, having received which he ran into the woods, and was ſoon out of ſight. We were at a loſs to gueſs what he was in purſuit of; but in a little time he returned with the bag full of the fineſt cranberries I ever beheld. In the mean time another of them, of his own accord, buſied himſelf in carrying heaps of dried leaves into the tent, which, with our buffalo ſkins, afforded luxurious beds to men like us, that had ſlept on nothing better than a board for upwards of a month paſt. In the upper country it is ſo cuſtomary for travellers to carry their own bedding, that even at our friend Captain E——'s houſe we had no other accommodation at night than the floor of an empty room, on which we ſpread our ſkins. As for themſelves, the Indians thought of no covering whatſoever, but ſimply ſtretched themſelves on the ground beſide the fire, where they lay like dogs or cats till morning. At day-break we ſtarted, and ſtopped as on the preceding day beſide ſtreams of water to eat our breakfaſts and dinners.

From Buffalo Creek to the place where we encamped on the firſt night, diſtant about twenty-five miles, the country being very flat, and the trees growing ſo cloſely together that it was impoſſible to ſee farther forward in any direction than fifty yards, our journey after a ſhort time became very unintereſting. Nothing in its kind, however, could exceed the beauty of the ſcenery that we met with during our ſecond day's journey. We found the country, as we paſſed along, interſperſed with open plains of great magnitude, ſome of them not leſs, I ſhould ſuppoſe, than fifteen or twenty miles in circumference. The trees on the borders of theſe having ample room to ſpread, were luxuriant beyond deſcription, and ſhot forth their branches with all the grandeur and variety which characterizes the Engliſh timber, particularly the oak. The woods round the plains were indented in every direction

with bays and promontories, as Mr. Gilpin terms it, whilſt rich clumps of trees, interſperſed here and there, appeared like ſo many cluſters of beautiful iſlands. The varied hues of the woods at this ſeaſon of the year, in America, can hardly be imagined by thoſe who never have had an opportunity of obſerving them; and indeed, as others have often remarked before, were a painter to attempt to colour a picture from them, it would be condemned in Europe as totally different from any thing that ever exiſted in nature.

Theſe plains are covered with long coarſe graſs, which, at a future day, will probably afford feeding to numerous herds of cattle; at preſent they are totally unfrequented. Throughout the north-weſtern territory of the States, and even beyond the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi, the country is interſperſed with ſimilar plains; and the farther you proceed to the weſtward, the more extenſive in general are they. Amidſt thoſe to the weſtward are found numerous herds of buffaloes, elks, and other wild graminivorous animals; and formerly animals of the ſame deſcription were found on theſe plains in the ſtate of New York, but they have all diſappeared long ſince, owing to their having been ſo conſtantly purſued both by the Indians and white people.

Very different opinions have been entertained reſpecting the deficiency of trees on theſe extended tracts of land, in the midſt of a country that abounds ſo generally with wood. Some have attributed it to the poverty of the ſoil; whilſt others have maintained, that the plains were formerly covered with trees, as well as other parts of the country, but that the trees have either been deſtroyed by fire, or by buffaloes, beavers, and other animals.

It is well known that buffaloes, in all thoſe parts of the country where they are found wild, commit great depredations amongſt the trees, by gnawing off the bark; they are alſo very fond of feeding upon the young trees that ſpring up from ſeed, as well as upon the ſuckers of the old ones; it may readily be imagined, therefore, that the entire of the trees, on very extended tracts of land, might be thus killed by them; and as the American timber, when left expoſed to the weather, ſoon decays, at

the end of a few years no veſtige of the woods would be found on theſe tracts, any more than if they had been conſumed by fire.

It appears to me, however, that there is more weight in the opinion of thoſe, who aſcribe the deficiency of trees on the plains to the unfriendlineſs of the ſoil; for the earth towards the ſurface is univerſally very light, and of a deep black colour, and on digging but a few inches downwards you come to a cold ſtiff clay. On Long Iſland, in the ſtate of New York, plains are met with nearly ſimilar to theſe in the back country, and the Dutch farmers, who have made repeated trials of the ſoil, find that it will not produce wheat or any other grain, and, in ſhort, nothing that is at all profitable except coarſe graſs. I make no doubt but that whenever a ſimilar trial comes to be made of the ſoil of the plains to the weſtward, it will be found equally incapable of producing any thing but what it does at preſent.

After having paſſed over a great number of theſe plains of different ſizes, we entered once more into the thick woods; but the country here appeared much more diverſified with riſing grounds than it was in any part we had already traverſed. As we were aſcending to the top of a ſmall eminence in the thickeſt part of theſe woods, towards the cloſe of our ſecond day's journey, our Indian chief, *China-breaſt-plate*, who received that name in conſequence of his having worn in the American war a thick china diſh as an ornament on his breaſt, made a ſign to us to follow him to the left of the path. We did ſo, and having proceeded for a few yards, ſuddenly found ourſelves on the margin of a deep extenſive pit, not unlike an exhauſted quarry, that had lain neglected for many years. The area of it contained about two acres, and it approached to a circular form; the ſides were extremely ſteep, and ſeemed in no place to be leſs than forty feet high; in ſome parts they were conſiderably higher. Near the center of the place was a large pond, and round the edges of it, as well as round the bottom of the precipice, grew ſeveral very lofty pines. The walls of the precipice conſiſted of a whitiſh ſubſtance not unlike lime-ſtone half calcined, and round the margin of the pit, at top, lay ſeveral heaps of looſe matter reſembling lime-rubbiſh. *China-breaſt-plate*, ſtanding on the brink of the precipice, began

begun to tell us a long ſtory, and pointing to a diſtant place beyond it, frequently mentioned the word Niagara. Whether, however, the ſtory related to the pit, or whether it related to the Falls of Niagara, the ſmoke ariſing from which it is by no means improbable might be ſeen, at times, from the elevated ſpot where we ſtood, or whether the ſtory related to both, we could in no way learn, as we were totally unacquainted with the Seneka language, and he was nearly equally ignorant of the Engliſh. I never met with any perſon afterwards who had ſeen this place, or who knew any thing relating to it. Though we made repeated ſigns to *China-breaſt-plate* that we did not underſtand his ſtory, he ſtill went on with it for near a quarter of an hour; the other Indians liſtened to it with great attention, and ſeemed to take no ſmall intereſt in what he ſaid.

I ſhould have mentioned to you before, that both the Indians and the white Americans pronounce the word Niagara differently from what we do. The former lay the accent on the ſecond ſyllable and pronounce the word full and broad as if written Nee-awg-ara. The Americans likewiſe lay the accent on the ſecond ſyllable; but pronounce it ſhort, and give the ſame ſound to the letters I and A as we do. Niagara, in the language of the neighbouring Indians, ſignifies a mighty rushing or fall of water.

On the ſecond evening of our expedition we encamped on a ſmall hill, from whoſe top there was a moſt pleaſing romantic view, along a ſtream of conſiderable ſize which wound round its baſe, and as far as our eyes could reach, appeared tumbling in ſmall falls over ledges of rocks. A fire being kindled, and the tent pitched as uſual, the Indians ſat down to cook ſome ſquirrels which we had killed on the borders of the plains. Theſe animals the Indians had obſerved, as we came along, on the top of a large hollow tree; they immediately laid down their loads, and each taking out his tomahawk, and ſetting to work at a different part of the tree, it was felled down in leſs than five minutes, and ſuch of the ſquirrels as eſcaped their dogs we readily ſhot for them.

The

The Indian dogs, in general, have ſhort legs, long backs, large pricked up ears, and long curly tails; they differ from the common Engliſh cur dogs in no reſpect ſo much as in their barking but very ſeldom. They are extremely ſagacious, and ſeem to underſtand even what their maſters ſay to them in a low voice, without making any ſigns, either with the hand or head.

Whilſt the ſquirrels were roaſting on a forked ſtick ſtuck in the ground, and bent over the fire, one of the Indians went into the woods, and brought out ſeveral ſmall boughs of a tree, apparently of the willow tribe. Having carefully ſcraped the bark off from theſe, he made a ſort of frame with the twigs, in ſhape ſomewhat like a gridiron, and heaping upon it the ſcraped bark, placed it over the fire to dry. When it was tolerably criſp he rubbed it between his hands, and put it up in his pouch for the purpoſe of ſmoking.

The Indians ſmoke the bark of many different trees, and a great variety of herbs and leaves beſides tobacco. The moſt agreeable of any of the ſubſtances which they ſmoke are the leaves of the ſumach tree, rhus-toxicodendron. This is a graceful ſhrub, which bears leaves ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe of the aſh. Towards the latter end of autumn they turn of a bright red colour, and when wanted for ſmoking are plucked off and dried in the ſun. Whilſt burning they afford a very agreeable perfume. Theſe leaves are very commonly ſmoked, mixed with tobacco, by the white people of the country; the ſmoke of them by themſelves alone is ſaid to be prejudicial to the lungs. The ſumach tree bears tufted bunches of crimſon flowers. One of theſe bunches dipped lightly, for a few times, into a bowl of punch, gives the liquor a very agreeable acid, and in the ſouthern ſtates it is common to uſe them for that purpoſe, but it is a dangerous cuſtom, as the acid, though extremely agreeable to the palate, is of a poiſonous quality, and never fails to produce a moſt alarming effect on the bowels if uſed too freely.

A ſharp froſt ſet in this night, and on the following morning, at day-break, we recommenced our journey with croſſing the river already mentioned up to our waiſts in water, no very pleaſing taſk. Both on this and

and the ſubſequent day we had to wade through ſeveral other conſiderable ſtreams.

A few ſquirrels were the only wild animals which we met with in our journey through the woods, and the moſt ſolemn ſilence imaginable reigned throughout, except where a wood pecker was heard now and then tapping with its bill againſt a hollow tree. The birds in general flock towards the ſettlements, and it is a very rare circumſtance to meet with them in the depth of the foreſt.

The third evening we encamped as uſual. No ſooner had we come to our reſting place, than the Indians threw off their clothes, and rolled themſelves on the graſs juſt as horſes would do, to refreſh themſelves, the day having proved very hot, notwithſtanding the froſt the preceding night. We were joined this evening by another party of the Seneka Indians, who were going to a village ſituated on the Geneſee River, and in the morning we all ſet out together. Early in the day we came to ſeveral plains ſimilar to thoſe we had before met with, but not ſo extended, on the borders of one of which we ſaw, for the firſt time, a bark hut apparently inhabited. On going up to it, our ſurpriſe was not a little to find two men, whoſe appearance and manners at once beſpoke them not to be Americans. After ſome converſation we diſcovered them to be two Engliſhmen, who had formerly lived in London as *valets de chambre*, and having ſcraped together a little money, had ſet out for New York, where they expected at once to become great men; however they ſoon found to their coſt, that the expence of living in that city was not ſuited to their pockets, and they determined to go and ſettle in the back country. They were at no loſs to find perſons who had land to diſpoſe of, and happening to fall in with a jobber who owned ſome of theſe plains, and who painted to them in lively colours the advantage they would derive from ſettling on good land already cleared to their hand, they immediately purchaſed a conſiderable track of this barren ground at a round price, and ſet out to fix themſelves upon it. From the neighbouring ſettlements, which were about ten miles off, they procured the aſſiſtance of two men, who after having built for them the bark hut in which we found them, left them with a promiſe of returning

ing in a short time to erect a log house. They had not, however, been punctual to their word, and unable to wield an axe, or to do any one thing for themselves, these unfortunate wretches sat moping in their hut, supporting themselves on some salt provisions they had brought with them, but which were now nearly exhausted. The people in the settlements, whom, on arriving there, we asked some few questions respecting these poor creatures, turned them into the greatest ridicule imaginable for being so helpless; and indeed they did present a most striking picture of the folly of any man's attempting to settle in America without being well acquainted with the country previously, and competent to do every sort of country work for himself.

It was not without very great vexation that we perceived, shortly after leaving this hut, evident symptoms of drunkenness in one of the Indians, and on examining our brandy cask it was but too plain that it had been pillaged. During the preceding part of our journey we had kept a watchful eye upon it, but drawing towards the end of our expedition, and having had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Indians, we had not paid sufficient attention to it this day; and though it could not have been much more than five minutes out of our sight, yet in that short space of time the screw had been forced, and the cask drained to the last drop. The Indian, whom we discovered to be drunk, was advanced a little before the others. He went on for some time staggering about from side to side, but at last, stopping and laying hold of his scalping knife, which they always carry with them by their sides, he began to brandish it with a threatening air. There is but one line of conduct to be pursued when you have to deal with Indians in such a situation, and that is, to act with the most determined resolution. If you betray the smallest symptoms of fear, or appear at all wavering in your conduct, it only serves to render them more ungovernable and furious. I accordingly took him by the shoulder, pushed him forward, and presenting my pistol, made him to understand that I would shoot him if he did not behave himself properly. My companions, whilst I was taking care of him, went back to see in what state the other Indians were. Luckily the liquor, though there was reason to apprehend they had all had a share

ſhare of it, had not made the ſame impreſſion upon them. One of them, indeed, was beginning to be refractory, and abſolutely threw down his load, and refuſed to go farther; but a few words from *China-breaſt-plate* induced him to reſume it, and to go on. On coming up to the firſt Indian, and ſeeing the ſad ſtate he was in, they ſhook their heads, and crying, "No good Indian," "No good Indian," endeavoured by ſigns to inform us that it was he who had pillaged the caſk, and drank all the brandy; but as it was another Indian who carried the caſk, no doubt remained but that they muſt all have had a ſhare of the plunder; that the firſt fellow, however, had drank more than the reſt was apparent; for in a few minutes he dropped down ſpeechleſs under his load; the others haſtened to take it off from his back, and having divided it amongſt themſelves, they drew him aſide from the path, and threw him under ſome buſhes, where he was left to ſleep till he ſhould come again to his ſenſes.

About noon we reached the Geneſee River, at the oppoſite ſide of which was ſituated the village where we expected to procure horſes. We croſſed the river in canoes, and took up our quarters at a houſe at the uppermoſt end of the village, where we were very glad to find our Indian friends could get no accommodation, for we knew well that the firſt uſe they would make of the money we were going to give them would be to buy liquor, and intoxicate themſelves, in which ſtate they would not fail of becoming very troubleſome companions; it was ſcarcely dark indeed when news was brought us from a houſe near the river, that they went to after we had diſcharged them, that they were grown quite outrageous with the quantity of ſpirits they had drank, and were fighting and cutting each other in a moſt dreadful manner. They never reſent the injuries they receive from any perſon that is evidently intoxicated, but attribute their wounds entirely to the liquor, on which they vent their execrations for all the miſchief it has committed.

Before I diſmiſs the ſubject entirely, I muſt obſerve to you, that the Indians did not ſeem to think the carrying of our baggage was in any manner degrading to them; and after having received their due, they ſhook hands with us, and parted from us, not as from employers who had hired

them, but as from friends whom they had been aſſiſting, and were now ſorry to leave.

The village where we ſtopped conſiſted of about eight or nine ſtraggling houſes; the beſt built one among them was that in which we lodged. It belonged to a family from New England, who about ſix years before had penetrated to this ſpot, then covered with woods, and one hundred and fifty miles diſtant from any other ſettlement. Settlements are now ſcattered over the whole of the country which they had to paſs through in coming to it. The houſe was commodious and well built, and the people decent, civil, and reputable. It is a very rare circumſtance to meet with ſuch people amongſt the firſt ſettlers on the frontiers; in general they are men of a moroſe and ſavage diſpoſition, and the very outcaſts of ſociety, who bury themſelves in the woods, as if deſirous to ſhun the face of their fellow creatures; there they build a rude habitation, and clear perhaps three or four acres of land, juſt as much as they find ſufficient to provide their families with corn: for the greater part of their food they depend on their rifle guns. Theſe people, as the ſettlements advance, are ſucceeded in general by a ſecond ſet of men, leſs ſavage than the firſt, who clear more land, and do not depend ſo much upon hunting as upon agriculture for their ſubſiſtance. A third ſet ſucceed theſe in turn, who build good houſes, and bring the land into a more improved ſtate. The firſt ſettlers, as ſoon as they have diſpoſed of their miſerable dwellings to advantage, immediately penetrate farther back into the woods, in order to gain a place of abode ſuited to their rude mode of life. Theſe are the lawleſs people who encroach, as I have before mentioned, on the Indian territory, and are the occaſion of the bitter animoſities between the whites and the Indians. The ſecond ſettlers, likewiſe, when diſplaced, ſeek for ſimilar places to what thoſe that they have left were when they firſt took them. I found, as I proceeded through this part of the country, that there was ſcarcely a man who had not changed his place of abode ſeven or eight different times.

As none but very miſerable horſes were to be procured at this village on the Geneſee River, and as our expedition through the woods had given us a reliſh for walking, we determined to proceed on foot, and merely

merely to hire horſes to carry our baggage; accordingly, having engaged a pair, and a boy to conduct them, we ſet off early on the ſecond morning from that of our arrival at the village, for the town of Bath.

The country between theſe two places is moſt agreeably diverſified with hill and dale, and as the traveller paſſes over the hills which overlook the Geneſee River and the flats bordering upon it, he is entertained with a variety of noble and pictureſque views. We were particularly ſtruck with the proſpect from a large, and indeed very handſome houſe in its kind, belonging to a Major Wadſworth, built on one of theſe hills. The Geneſee River, bordered with the richeſt woods imaginable, might be ſeen from it for many miles, meandering through a fertile country; and beyond the flats, on each ſide of the river, appeared ſeveral ranges of blue hills riſing up one behind another in a moſt fanciful manner, the whole together forming a moſt beautiful landſcape. Here, however, in the true American taſte, the greateſt pains were taking to diminiſh, and, indeed, to ſhut out all the beauties of the proſpect; every tree in the neighbourhood of the houſe was felled to the ground; inſtead of a neat lawn, for which the ground ſeemed to be ſingularly well diſpoſed, a wheat field was laid down in front of it; and at the bottom of the ſlope, at the diſtance of two hundred yards from the houſe, a town was building by the major, which, when completed, would effectually ſcreen from the dwelling houſe every ſight of the river and mountains. The Americans, as I before obſerved, ſeem to be totally dead to the beauties of nature, and only to admire a ſpot of ground as it appears to be more or leſs calculated to enrich the occupier by its produce.

The Geneſee River takes its name from a loſty hill in the Indian territory, near to which it paſſes, called by the Indians Geneſee, a word ſignifying, in their language, a grand extenſive proſpect.

The flats bordering upon the Geneſee River are amongſt the richeſt lands that are to be met with in North America, to the eaſt of the Ohio. Wheat, as I told you in a former letter, will not grow upon them; and it is not found that the ſoil is impoveriſhed by the ſucceſſive crops

of Indian corn and hemp that are raiſed upon them year after year. The great fertility of theſe flats is to be aſcribed to the regular annual overflowing of the Geneſee River, whoſe waters are extremely muddy, and leave no ſmall quantity of ſlime behind them before they return to their natural channel. That river empties itſelf into Lake Ontario: it is ſomewhat more than one hundred miles in length, but only navigable for the laſt forty miles of its courſe, except at the time of the inundations; and even then the navigation is not uninterrupted the whole way down to the lake, there being three conſiderable falls in the river about ten miles above its mouth: the greateſt of theſe falls is ſaid to be ninety feet in perpendicular height. The high lands in the neighbourhood of the Geneſee River are ſtony, and are not diſtinguiſhed for their fertility, but the valleys are all extremely fruitful, and abound with rich timber.

The ſummers in this part of the country are by no means ſo hot as towards the Atlantic, and the winters are moderate; it is ſeldom, indeed, that the ſnow lies on the ground much longer than ſix or ſeven weeks; but notwithſtanding this circumſtance, and that the face of the country is ſo much diverſified with riſing grounds, yet the whole of it is dreadfully unhealthy; ſcarcely a family eſcapes the baneful effects of the fevers that rage here during the autumn ſeaſon. I was informed by the inhabitants, that much fewer perſons had been attacked by the fever the laſt ſeaſon than during former years, and of theſe few a very ſmall number died, the fever having proved much leſs malignant than it was ever known to be before. This circumſtance led the inhabitants to hope, that as the country became more cleared it would become much more healthy. It is well known, indeed, that many parts of the country, which were extremely healthy while they remained covered with wood, and which alſo proved healthy after they had been generally cleared and ſettled, were very much otherwiſe when the trees were firſt cut down: this has been imputed to the vapours ariſing from the newly cleared lands on their being firſt expoſed to the burning rays of the ſun, and which, whilſt the newly cleared ſpots remain ſurrounded by woods, there is not a ſufficient circulation of air to diſpel. The

unhealthineſs of the country at preſent does not deter numbers of people from coming to ſettle here every year, and few parts of North America can boaſt of a more rapid improvement than the Geneſee country during the laſt four years.

In our way to Bath we paſſed through ſeveral ſmall towns that had been lately begun, and in theſe the houſes were comfortable and neatly built; but the greater part of thoſe of the farmers were wretched indeed; one at which we ſtopped for the night, in the courſe of our journey, had not even a chimney or window to it; a large hole at the end of the roof ſupplied the deficiency of both; the door was of ſuch a nature, alſo, as to make up in ſome meaſure for the want of a window, as it admitted light on all ſides. A heavy fall of ſnow happened to take place whilſt we were at this houſe, and as we lay ſtretched on our ſkins beſide the fire, at night, the ſnow was blown, in no ſmall quantities, through the crevices of the door, under our very ears.

At ſome of theſe houſes we got plenty of veniſon, and good butter, milk, and bread; but at others we could get nothing whatſoever to eat. At one little village, conſiſting of three or four houſes, the people told us, that they had not even ſufficient bread and milk for themſelves; and, indeed, the ſcantineſs of the meal to which we ſaw them ſitting down confirmed the truth of what they ſaid. We were under the neceſſity of walking on for nine miles beyond this village before we could get any thing to ſatisfy our appetites.

The fall of ſnow, which I have mentioned, interrupted our progreſs through the woods very conſiderably the ſubſequent morning; it all diſappeared, however, before the next night, and in the courſe of the third day from that on which we left the banks of the Geneſee River we reached the place of our deſtination.

LETTER XXXVII.

Account of Bath.—Of the Neighbourhood.—Singular Method taken to improve it.—Speculators.—Deſcription of one, in a Letter from an American Farmer.—Conhorton Creek.—View of the Navigation from Bath downwards.—Leave Bath for Newtown.—Embark in Canoes.—Stranded in the Night.—Seek for Shelter in a neighbouring Houſe.—Difficulty of procuring Proviſions.—Reſume our Voyage.—Lochartſburgh.—Deſcription of the eaſtern Branch of the Suſquehannah River.—French Town.—French and Americans ill ſuited to each other.—Wilkeſbarré.—Mountains in the Neighbourhood.—Country thinly ſettled towards Philadelphia.—Deſcription of the Wind-Gap in the Blue Mountains.—Summary Account of the Moravian Settlement at Bethlehem.—Return to Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, November.

BATH is a poſt town, and the principal town in the weſtern parts of the ſtate of New York. Though laid out only three years ago, yet it already contains about thirty houſes, and is increaſing very faſt. Amongſt the houſes are ſeveral ſtores or ſhops well furniſhed with goods, and a tavern that would not be thought meanly of in any part of America. This town was founded by a gentleman who formerly bore the rank of captain in his Majeſty's ſervice; he has likewiſe been the founder of Williamſburgh and Falkner's Town; and indeed to his exertions, joined to thoſe of a few other individuals, may be aſcribed the improvement of the whole of this part of the country, beſt known in America by the name of the Geneſee Country, or the County of the Lakes, from its being watered by that river, and a great number of ſmall lakes.

The landed property of which this gentleman, who founded Bath, &c. has had the active management, is ſaid to have amounted originally to no leſs than ſix millions of acres, the greater part of which belonged to an individual in England. The method he has taken to improve this property

property has been, by granting land in ſmall portions and on long credits to individuals who would immediately improve it, and in larger portions and on a ſhorter credit to others who purchaſed on ſpeculation, the lands in both caſes being mortgaged for the payment of the purchaſe money; thus, ſhould the money not be paid at the appointed time, he could not be a loſer, as the lands were to be returned to him, and ſhould they happen to be at all improved, as was moſt likely to be the caſe, he would be a conſiderable gainer even by having them returned on his hands; moreover, if a poor man, willing to ſettle on his land, had not money ſufficient to build a houſe and to go on with the neceſſary improvements, he has at once ſupplied him, having had a large capital himſelf, with what money he wanted for that purpoſe, or ſent his own workmen, of whom he keeps a prodigious number employed, to build a houſe for him, at the ſame time taking the man's note at three, four, or five years, for the coſt of the houſe, &c. with intereſt. If the man ſhould be unable to pay at the appointed time, the houſe, mortgaged like the lands, muſt revert to the original proprietor, and the money ariſing from its ſale, and that of the farm adjoining, partly improved, will in all probability be found to amount to more than what the poor man had promiſed to pay for it: but a man taking up land in America in this manner, at a moderate price, cannot fail, if induſtrious, of making money ſufficient to pay for it, as well as for a houſe, at the appointed time.

The numbers that have been induced by theſe temptations, not to be met with elſewhere in the States, to ſettle in the Geneſee County, is aſtoniſhing; and numbers are ſtill flocking to it every year, as not one third of the lands are yet diſpoſed of. It was currently reported in the county, as I paſſed through it, that this gentleman, of whom I have been ſpeaking, had, in the notes of the people to whom he had ſold land payable at the end of three, or four, or five years, the immenſe ſum of two millions of dollars. The original coſt of the land was not more than a few pence per acre; what therefore muſt be the profits!

It may readily be imagined, that the granting of land on ſuch very eaſy terms could not fail to draw crowds of ſpeculators (a ſort of gentry with which

which America abounds in every quarter) to this part of the country; and indeed we found, as we paſſed along, that every little town and village throughout the country abounded with them, and each place, in conſequence, exhibited a picture of idleneſs and diſſipation. The following letter, ſuppoſed to come from a farmer, though ſomewhat ludicrous, does not give an inaccurate deſcription of one of theſe young ſpeculators, and of what is going on in this neighbourhood. It appeared in a news-paper publiſhed at Wilkeſbarré, on the Suſquehannah, and I give it to you verbatim, becauſe, being written by an American, it will perhaps carry more weight with it than any thing I could ſay on the ſame ſubject.

" To the Printers of the Wilkeſbarré Gazette.

" Gentlemen,

" It is painful to reflect, that ſpeculation has raged to ſuch a degree of " late, that honeſt induſtry, and all the humble virtues that walk in her " train, are diſcouraged and rendered unfaſhionable.

" It is to be lamented too, that diſſipation is ſooner introduced in new " ſettlements than induſtry and economy.

" I have been led to theſe reflections by converſing with my ſon, who " has juſt returned from the Lakes or Geneſee, though he has neither " been to the one or the other;—in ſhort, he has been to Bath, the ce- " lebrated Bath, and has returned both a ſpeculator and a gentleman; " having ſpent his money, ſwopped away my horſe, caught the fever and " ague, and, what is infinitely worſe, that horrid diſorder which ſome " call the terra-phobia*.

" We can hear nothing from the poor creature now (in his ravings) " but of the captain and Billy—of ranges—townſhips—numbers— " thouſands—hundreds—acres—Bath—fairs—races—heats—bets— " purſes—ſilk ſtockings—fortunes—fevers—agues, &c. &c. &c. My " ſon has part of a townſhip for ſale, and it is diverting enough to hear " him narrate its pedigree, qualities, and ſituation. In fine, it lies near

* Our farmer does not ſeem to have well underſtood the import of this word, but we may readily gueſs at his meaning.

" Bath,

" Bath, and the captain himſelf once owned, and for a long time re-
" ſerved it. It coſt my ſon but five dollars per acre; he was offered
" ſix in half a minute after his purchaſe; but he is poſitively deter-
" mined to have eight, beſides ſome precious reſerves. One thing is
" very much in my boy's favour—he has ſix years credit. Another
" thing is ſtill more ſo—he is not worth a ſous, nor ever will be at this
" rate. Previous to his late excurſion the lad worked well, and was
" contented at home on my farm; but now work is out of the queſtion
" with him. There is no managing my boy at home; theſe golden
" dreams ſtill beckon him back to Bath, where, as he ſays, no one need
" either work or ſtarve; where, though a man may have the ague
" nine months in the year, he may conſole himſelf in ſpending the other
" three faſhionably at the races.

" *A Farmer.*"

" *Hanover, October* 25th, 1796."

The town of Bath ſtands on a plain, ſurrounded on three ſides by hills of a moderate height. The plain is almoſt wholly diveſted of its trees; but the hills are ſtill uncleared, and have a very pleaſing appearance from the town. At the foot of the hills runs a ſtream of pure water, over a bed of gravel, which is called Conhocton Creek. There is a very conſiderable fall in this creek juſt above the town, which affords one of the fineſt ſeats for mills poſſible. Extenſive ſaw and flour mills have already been erected upon it, the principal ſaw in the former of which gave, when we viſited the mill, one hundred and twenty ſtrokes in a minute, ſufficient to cut, in the ſame ſpace of time, ſeven ſquare feet, ſuperficial meaſure, of oak timber; yet the miller informed us, that when the water was high it would cut much faſter.

Conhocton Creek, about twenty miles below Bath, falls into Tyoga River, which, after a courſe of about thirty miles, empties itſelf into the eaſtern branch of the River Suſquehannah. During floods you may go down in light bateaux along the creek, Tyoga and Suſquehannah rivers, the whole way from Bath to the Cheſapeak Bay, without interruption; and in the fall of the year there is generally water ſufficient for canoes

from Bath downwards; but owing to the great drought that prevailed through every part of the country this year, the depth of water in the creek was found insufficient to float even a canoe of the smallest size. Had it been practicable, it was our intention to have proceeded from Bath by water; but finding that it was not, we once more set off on foot, and pursued our way along the banks of the river till we came to a small village of eight or ten houses, called Newtown, about thirty miles distant from Bath. Here we found the stream tolerably deep, and the people informed us, that excepting at one or two narrow shoals, they were certain that in every part of it, lower down, there was sufficient water for canoes; accordingly, determined to be our own watermen, being five in number including our servants, we purchased a couple of canoes from two farmers, who lived on the banks of the river, and having lashed them together, in order to render them more steady and safe, we put our baggage on board, and boldly embarked.

It was about three o'clock on a remarkably clear though cold afternoon that we left the village, and the current being strong, we hoped to be able to reach before night a tavern, situated, as we were told, on the banks of the river, about six miles below Newtown. For the first two miles we got on extremely well; but beyond this the river proving to be much shallower than we had been led to believe, we found it a matter of the utmost difficulty to proceed. Our canoes repeatedly struck upon the shoals, and so much time was consumed in setting them again free, that before we had accomplished more than two thirds of our voyage the day closed. As night advanced a very sensible change was observable in the weather; a heavy shower of hail came pouring down, and, involved in thick darkness, whilst the moon was obscured by a cloud, our canoes were drifted by the current, to which, being unable to see our way, we had consigned them, on a bank in the middle of the river. In endeavouring to extricate ourselves we unfortunately, owing to the darkness, took a wrong direction, and at the end of a few minutes found our canoes so firmly wedged in the gravel that it was impossible to move them. Nothing now remained to be done but for every one of us to jump into the water, and to put his shoulder to the canoes. This

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we accordingly did, and having previouſly unlaſhed, in order to render them more manageable, we in a ſhort time contrived to haul one of them into deep water; here, however, the rapidity of the current was ſo great, that notwithſtanding all our endeavours to the contrary, the canoe was forcibly ſwept away from us, and in the attempt to hold it faſt we had the misfortune to ſee it nearly filled with water.

Deprived thus of one of our canoes, and of a great part of our baggage in it, which, for ought we knew, was irrecoverably loſt, we determined to proceed more cautiouſly with the remaining one; having returned, therefore, to the bank, we carried every thing that was in the canoe on our ſhoulders to the ſhore, which was about forty yards diſtant; no very eaſy or agreeable taſk, as the water reached up to our waiſts, and the current was ſo ſtrong that it was with the utmoſt difficulty we could keep our feet. The canoe being emptied, we brought it, as nearly as we could gueſs, to the ſpot where the other one had been ſwept away from us, and one of the party then getting into it with a paddle, we committed it, purſuant to his deſire, to the ſtream, hoping that it would be carried down after the other, and that thus we ſhould be able to recover both it and the things which it contained. In a few ſeconds the ſtream carried the canoe out of our ſight, for the moon ſhone but faintly through the clouds, and being all of us totally unacquainted with the river, we could not but feel ſome concern for the perſonal ſafety of our companion. Before many minutes, however, were elapſed, we had the ſatisfaction of hearing his voice at a diſtance, and having made the beſt of our way along the ſhore to the ſpot from whence the ſound proceeded, we had the ſatisfaction to find that he had been carried in ſafety cloſe beſide the canoe which had been loſt; we were not a little pleaſed alſo at finding our portmanteaus at the bottom of the canoe, though well ſoaked in water; but ſuch of our clothes as we had taken off preparatory to going into the water, together with ſeveral light articles, were all loſt.

It froze ſo very hard now, that in a few minutes our portmanteaus, and ſuch of our garments as had been wetted, were covered with a coat of ice, and our limbs were quite benumbed, in conſequence of our hav-

ing waded so often through the river. Desirous, however, as we were to get to a house, we determined, in the first instance, to dispose of our baggage in a safe place, lest it might be pillaged. A deep hollow that appeared under some fallen trees seemed well adapted for the purpose, and having stowed it there, and covered it with leaves, we advanced forward. There were no traces whatsoever of a path in the woods where we landed, and for upwards of a mile we had to force our way through the bushes along the banks of the river; but at the end of that distance, we hit upon one, which in a short time brought us to a miserable little log house. At this house no accommodation whatsoever was to be had, but we were told, that if we followed the path through the woods for about a mile farther, we should come to a waggon road, upon which we should find another house, where probably we might gain admittance. We reached this house according to the directions we had received; we readily gained admittance into it, and the blaze of an immense wood fire, piled half way up the chimney, soon made us amends for what we had suffered from the inclemency of the weather. The coldness of the air, together with the fatigue which we had gone through in the course of the day, had by this time given a keen edge to our appetites; no sooner therefore had we warmed ourselves than we began to make enquiries about what we could get to satisfy the calls of hunger; but had we asked for a sheep or an ox for supper at an inn in England, the man of the house could not, I verily believe, have been more amazed than was our American landlord at these enquiries: "The women were in bed"—"He knew not where to find the keys"—"He did not believe there was any thing in the pantry"—"Provisions "were very scarce in the country"—"If he gave us any there would not "be enough for the family in the morning"—Such were his answers to us. However we plied him so closely, and gave him such a pitiable description of our sufferings, that at length he was moved; the keys were found, the pantry opened, and to satisfy the hunger of five hungry young men, two little flour cakes, scarcely as big as a man's hand each, and about a pint and a half of milk, were brought forth. He vowed he could give us nothing more; his wife would never pardon him if he

did not leave enough for their breakfasts in the morning; obliged therefore to remain satisfied, we eat our little pittance, and then laid ourselves down to rest on our skins, which we had brought with us on our shoulders.

In the morning we found that the man had really made an accurate report of the state of his pantry. There was barely enough in it for the family, and unable to get a single morsel to eat, we set out for the little house where we had first stopped the preceding night, which was the only one within two or three miles, there hoping to find the inhabitants better provided for: not a bit of bread however was to be had here; but the woman of the house told us, that she had some Indian corn meal, and that if we could wait for an hour or two she would bake a loaf for us. This was most grateful intelligence: we only begged of her to make it large enough, and then set off to search in the interim for our canoes and baggage. At several other places, in going down the Susquehannah, we afterwards found an equal scarcity of provisions with what we did in this neighbourhood. One morning in particular, after having proceeded for about four or five miles in our canoe, we stopped to breakfast; but nothing eatable was there to be had at the first house we went to, except a few potatoes that were roasting before the fire. The people very cheerfully gave us two or three, and told us at the same time, that if we went to some houses at the opposite side of the river we should most probably find better fare: we did so; but here the inhabitants were still more destitute. On asking them where we should be likely to get any thing to eat, an old woman answered, that if we went to a village about four miles lower down the river, we should find a house, she believed, where "*they did keep victuals*," an expression so remarkable that I could not help noting it down immediately. We reached this house, and finding it well stocked with provisions of every kind, took care to provide ourselves, not only with what we wanted for immediate use, but also with what we might want on a future occasion, in case we came to any place equally destitute of provisions as those which we had before stopped at; a precaution that was far from proving unnecessary.

But

But to return. We found our canoes and baggage juſt as we had left them, and having embarked once more, we made the beſt of our way down to the houſe where we had beſpoke breakfaſt, which ſtood on the banks of the river. The people here were extremely civil; they aſſiſted us in making freſh paddles in lieu of thoſe which we had loſt the night before; and for the trifle which we gave them above what they aſked us for our breakfaſts they were very thankful, a moſt unuſual circumſtance in the United States.

After breakfaſt we purſued our way for about ſeven miles down the river, but in the courſe of this diſtance we were obliged to get into the water more than a dozen different times, I believe, to drag the canoes over the ſhoals; in ſhort, by the time we arrived at a houſe in the afternoon, we were ſo completely diſguſted with our water conveyance, that had we not been able to procure two men, as we did in the neighbourhood, to conduct our canoes to the mouth of Tyoga River, where there was reaſon to imagine that the water would be found deeper, we ſhould certainly have left them behind us. The men ſet out at an early hour in the morning, and we proceeded ſome time afterwards on foot along the banks, but ſo difficult was the navigation, that we reached Tyoga Point or Lochartzburg, a ſmall town built at the mouth of the river, ſeveral hours before them.

On arriving at this place, we heard to our diſappointment, that the Suſquehannah, although generally at this ſeaſon of the year navigable for boats drawing four feet water, was now nearly as low as the Tyoga River, ſo that in many places, particularly at the rapids, there was ſcarcely ſufficient water to float a canoe over the ſharp rocks with which the bed of the river abounds; in fine, we were informed that the channel was now intricate and dangerous, and that no perſon unacquainted with the river could attempt to proceed down it without great riſk; we found no difficulty, however, in hiring from amongſt the watermen accuſtomed to ply on the river, a man that was perfectly well acquainted with it; and having exchanged our two canoes, purſuant to his advice, for one of a very large ſize, capable of holding us all conveniently, we renewed our voyage.

From

From Lochartzburgh to Wilkeſbarré, or Wyoming, ſituated on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the Suſquehannah, the diſtance is about ninety miles, and when the river is full, and the current of courſe ſtrong, as is uſually the caſe in the fall and ſpring of the year, you may go down the whole of this diſtance in one day; but owing to the lowneſs of the water we were no leſs than four days performing the voyage, though we made the utmoſt expedition poſſible. In many parts of the river, indeed, we found the current very rapid; at the Falls of Wyaluſing, for inſtance, we were carried down three or four miles in about a quarter of an hour; but in other places, where the river was deep, ſcarcely any current was perceptible in it, and we were obliged to work our way with paddles. The bed of the river abounds with rock and gravel, and the water is ſo tranſparent, that in many parts, where it muſt have been at leaſt twenty feet deep, the ſmalleſt pebble was diſtinguiſhable at the bottom. The width of the river varies from fifty to three hundred yards, and ſcarcely any ſtream in America has a more irregular courſe; in ſome places it runs in a direction diametrically oppoſite to what it does in others. The country through which this (the eaſtern) branch of the Suſquehannah paſſes, is extremely uneven and rugged; indeed, from Lochartzburgh till within a ſhort diſtance of Wilkeſbarré, it is bounded the entire way by ſteep mountains either on the one ſide or the other. The mountains are never to be met with at both ſides of the ſame part of the river, except it be at places where the river takes a very ſudden bend; but wherever you perceive a range of mountains on one ſide, you are ſure to find an extenſive plain on the oppoſite one; ſcarcely in any part do the mountains extend for more than one mile together on the ſame ſide of the river, and in many inſtances, during the courſe of one mile, you will perceive more than a dozen different changes of the mountains from one ſide to the other. It may readily be imagined, from this deſcription of the eaſtern branch of the Suſquehannah, that the ſcenery along it muſt be very fine; and, indeed, I think there is no river in America that abounds with ſuch a variety and number of picturеſque views. At every bend the proſpect varies, and there is ſcarcely a ſpot between Lochartzburg and Wilkeſbarré where the painter would not find a ſubject

ſubject well worthy of his pencil. The mountains, covered with bold rocks and woods, afford the fineſt foreground imaginable; the plains, adorned with cultivated fields and patches of wood, and watered by the noble river, of which you catch a glimpſe here and there, fill up the middle part of the landſcape; and the blue hills, peeping up at a diſtance, terminate the view in the moſt pleaſing manner.

The country bordering upon the Suſquehannah abounds with deer, and as we paſſed down we met with numberleſs parties of the country people engaged in driving theſe animals. The deer, on being purſued in the neighbouring country, immediately make for the river, where men being concealed in buſhes placed on the ſtrand, at the part to which it is expected they will come down, take the opportunity of ſhooting them as ſoon as they enter the water. Should the deer not happen to come near theſe ambuſhes, the hunters then follow them in canoes: it ſeldom happens that they eſcape after having once taken to the water.

Very fine fiſh are found in every part of the Suſquehannah, and the river is much frequented by wild fowl, particularly by the canvaſs back duck.

The whole way between Lochartzburg and Wilkeſbarré are ſettlements on each ſide of the river, at no great diſtance from each other; there are alſo ſeveral ſmall towns on the banks of the river. The principal one is French Town, ſituated within a ſhort diſtance of the Falls of Wyaluſing, on the weſtern ſide of the river. This town was laid out at the expence of ſeveral philanthropic perſons in Pennſylvania, who entered into a ſubſcription for the purpoſe, as a place of retreat for the unfortunate French emigrants who fled to America. The town contains above fifty log houſes; and for the uſe of the inhabitants a conſiderable track of land has been purchaſed adjoining to it, which has been divided into farms. The French ſettled here ſeem, however, to have no great inclination or ability to cultivate the earth, and the greater part of them have let their lands at a ſmall yearly rent to Americans, and betake themſelves with driving deer, fiſhing, and fowling; they live entirely to themſelves; they hate the Americans, and

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the Americans in the neighbourhood hate and accuſe them of being an idle diſſipated ſet. The manners of the two people are ſo very different that it is impoſſible they ſhould ever agree.

Wilkeſbarré, formerly Wyoming, is the chief town of Luzerne county. It is ſituated on a plain, bounded on one ſide by the Suſquehannah, and on the other by a range of mountains, and contains about one hundred and fifty wooden dwelling houſes, a church, court houſe, and gaol. It was here that the dreadful maſſacre was committed, during the American war, by the Indians under the command of colonel Butler, which is recorded in moſt of the hiſtories of the war, and which will for ever remain a blot on the Engliſh annals. Several of the houſes in which the unfortunate victims retired to defend themſelves, on being refuſed all quarter, are ſtill ſtanding, perforated in every part with balls; the remains of others that were ſet on fire are alſo ſtill to be ſeen, and the inhabitants will on no account ſuffer them to be repaired. The Americans are equally tenacious of the ruins in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia.

It was our intention at firſt to have proceeded down the river from hence as far as Sunburg, or Harriſburgh; but the weather being now ſo cold as to render a water conveyance, eſpecially a canoe, where you are always obliged to ſit very ſtill, extremely diſagreeable, we determined to croſs the Blue Mountains to Bethlehem in Pennſylvania, ſituated about ſixty-five miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Wilkeſbarré; we accordingly hired horſes, as we had done on a former occaſion, to carry our baggage, and proceeded ourſelves on foot. We ſet out in the afternoon, the day after that on which we terminated our voyage, and before evening croſſed the ridge of mountains which bounds the plain of Wilkeſbarré. Theſe mountains, which are extremely rugged and ſtony, abound with iron ore and coal; for the manufacture of the former ſeveral forges have been eſtabliſhed, but no uſe is made of the coal, there being plenty of wood as yet in the country, which is eſteemed much more agreeable fuel. From the top of them you have a very grand view of the plain below, on which ſtands the town of Wilkeſbarré, and of the river Suſ-

quehannah, which may be traced above the town, winding amidſt the hills for a great number of miles.

The country beyond the mountains is extremely rough, and but very thinly ſettled, of courſe ſtill much wooded. The people, at the few houſes ſcattered through it, appeared to live much better than the inhabitants of any other part of the States which I before paſſed through. At every houſe where we ſtopped we found abundance of good bread, butter, tea, coffee, chocolate, and veniſon; and indeed we fared ſumptuouſly here, in compariſon to what we had done for many weeks preceding.

The woods in many parts of this country conſiſted almoſt wholly of hemlock trees, which are of the pine ſpecies, and grow only on poor ground. Many of them were of an unuſually large ſize, and their tops ſo cloſely matted together, that after having entered into the depth of the woods you could ſee the ſky in but very few places. The bruſh-wood under theſe trees, different from what I ever ſaw elſewhere, conſiſted for the moſt part of the oleander and of the kalmia laurel, whoſe deep green ſerved to render the gloom of the woods ſtill more ſolemn; indeed they ſeemed completely to anſwer the deſcription given by the poets of the ſacred groves; and it were impoſſible to enter them without being ſtruck with awe.

About twenty miles before you come to Bethlehem, in going thither from Wilkeſbarré, you croſs the ridge of Blue Mountains at what is called the Wind Gap; how it received that name I never could learn. This gap is nearly a mile wide, and it exhibits a tremendouſly wild and rugged ſcene. The road does not run at the bottom of the gap, but along the edge of the ſouth mountain, about two thirds of the way up. Above you on the right, nothing is to be ſeen but broken rocks and trees, and on the left you look down a ſteep precipice. The rocks at the bottom of the precipice have every appearance, it is ſaid (for we did not deſcend into it) of having been waſhed by water for ages; and from hence it has been conjectured that this muſt have been the original channel of the River Delaware, which now paſſes through the ridge, at a place about fifteen miles to the north weſt. Whether this were the caſe

or

J. Webb del.

J. Dadley sculp.

VIEW of BETHLEHEM a Moravian settlement

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or not it is impoſſible to determine at this day; but it is certain, from the appearance of the country on each ſide of the Delaware, that a great change has taken place in this quarter, in conſequence of ſome vaſt inundation.

On the Atlantic ſide of the mountains the country is much leſs rugged than on the oppoſite one, and it is more cleared and much more thickly ſettled: the inhabitants are for the moſt part of German extraction.

Bethlehem is the principal ſettlement, in North America, of the Moravians, or United Brethren. It is moſt agreeably ſituated on a riſing ground, bounded on one ſide by the river Leheigh, which falls into the Delaware, and on the other by a creek, which has a very rapid current, and affords excellent ſeats for a great number of mills. The town is regularly laid out, and contains about eighty ſtrong built ſtone dwelling houſes and a large church. Three of the dwelling houſes are very ſpacious buildings, and are appropriated reſpectively to the accommodation of the unmarried young men of the ſociety, of the unmarried females, and of the widows. In theſe houſes different manufactures are carried on, and the inmates of each are ſubject to a diſcipline approaching ſomewhat to that of a monaſtic inſtitution. They eat together in a refectory; they ſleep in dormitories; they attend morning and evening prayers in the chapel of the houſe; they work for a certain number of hours in the day; and they have ſtated intervals allotted to them for recreation. They are not ſubjected, by the rules of the ſociety, to perpetual confinement; but they ſeldom, notwithſtanding, go beyond the bounds of their walks and gardens, except it be occaſionally to viſit their friends in the town.

The Moravians, though they do not enjoin celibacy, yet think it highly meritorious, and the young perſons of different ſexes have but very little intercourſe with each other; they never enter each other's houſes, and at church they are obliged to ſit ſeparate; it is only in conſequence of his having ſeen her at a diſtance, perhaps, that a batchelor is induced to propoſe for a young woman in marriage, and he is not permitted to offer his propoſals in perſon to the object of his choice, but merely through the medium of the ſuperintendant of the female houſe. If from the re-

port of the elders and wardens of the ſociety it appears to the ſuperintendant that he is able to maintain a wife, ſhe then acquaints her protegée with the offer, and ſhould ſhe conſent, they are married immediately, but if ſhe do not, the ſuperintendant ſelects another female from the houſe, whom ſhe imagines would be ſuitable to the young man, and on his approval of her they are as quickly married. Haſty as theſe marriages are, they are never known to be attended with unhappineſs; for being taught from their earlieſt infancy to keep thoſe paſſions under controul, which occaſion ſo much miſchief amongſt the maſs of mankind; being inured to regular habits of induſtry, and to a quiet ſober life; and being in their peaceable and retired ſettlements out of the reach of thoſe temptations which perſons are expoſed to who launch forth into the buſy world, and who mingle with the multitude, the parties meet with nought through life to interrupt their domeſtic repoſe.

Attached to the young men's and to the young women's houſes there are boarding ſchools for boys and girls, under the direction of proper teachers, which are alſo inſpected by the elders and wardens of the ſociety. Theſe ſchools are in great repute, and not only the children of Moravians are ſent to them, but alſo thoſe of many genteel perſons of a different perſuaſion, reſident in Philadelphia, New York, and other towns in the neighbouring States. The boys are inſtructed in the Latin, German, French, and Engliſh languages; arithmetic, muſic, drawing, &c.: the girls are likewiſe inſtructed in theſe different languages and ſciences, and, in ſhort, in every thing that is uſually taught at a female boarding ſchool, except dancing. When of a ſufficient age to provide for themſelves, the young women of the ſociety are admitted into the houſe deſtined for their accommodation, where embroidery, fine needle-work, carding, ſpinning, knitting, &c. &c. and other works ſuitable to females, are carried on. A ſeparate room is allotted for every different buſineſs, and a female, ſomewhat older than the reſt, preſides in it, to inſpect the work, and preſerve regularity. Perſons are appointed to diſpoſe of the ſeveral articles manufactured in the houſe, and the money which they produce is diſtributed amongſt the individuals engaged in

manufacturing them, who, after paying a certain ſum towards the maintenance of the houſe, and a certain ſum beſides into the public fund of the ſociety, are allowed to keep the remainder for themſelves.

After the boys have finiſhed their ſchool education, they are apprenticed to the buſineſs which accords moſt with their inclination. Should this be a buſineſs or trade that is carried on in the young men's houſe, they at once go there to learn it, but if at the houſe of an individual in the town, they only board and lodge at the young men's houſe. If they are inclined to agricultural purſuits, they are then put under the care of one of the farmers of the ſociety. The young men ſubſcribe to the ſupport of their houſe, and to the public fund, juſt as the young women do; the widows do the ſame; and every individual in the town likewiſe contributes a ſmall ſum weekly to the general fund of the ſociety.

Situated upon the creek, which ſkirts the town, there is a flour mill, a ſaw mill, an oil mill, a fulling mill, a mill for grinding bark and dye ſtuff, a tan yard, a currier's yard; and on the Leleigh River an extenſive brewery, at which very good malt liquor is manufactured. Theſe mills, &c. belong to the ſociety at large, and the profits ariſing from them, the perſons ſeverally employed in conducting them being firſt handſomely rewarded for their ſervices, are paid into the public fund. The lands for ſome miles round the town, which are highly improved, likewiſe belong to the ſociety, as does alſo the tavern, and the profits ariſing from them are diſpoſed of in the ſame manner as thoſe ariſing from the mills, the perſons employed in managing the farms, and attending to the tavern, being nothing more than ſtewards or agents of the ſociety. The fund thus raiſed is employed in relieving the diſtreſſed brethren of the ſociety in other parts of the world, in forming new ſettlements, and in defraying the expence of the miſſions for the purpoſe of propagating the goſpel amongſt the heathens.

The tavern at Bethlehem is very commodious, and it is the neateſt and beſt conducted one, without exception, that I ever met with in any part of America. Having communicated to the landlord, on arriving at it, our wiſh to ſee the town and public buildings, he immediately diſpatched a meſſenger for one of the elders, and in leſs than a quarter of an hour,

brother

brother Thomas, a lively freſh coloured little man, of about fifty years of age, entered the room: he was dreſſed in a plain blue coat and waiſtcoat, brown corderoy breeches, and a large round hat; there was goodneſs and innocence in his looks, and his manners were ſo open and unconſtrained, that it was impoſſible not to become familiar with him at once. When we were ready to ſally forth, he placed himſelf between two of us, and leaning on our arms, and chatting without ceremony, he conducted us firſt to the young women's houſe. Here we were ſhewn into a neat parlour, whilſt brother Thomas went to aſk permiſſion for us to ſee the houſe. In a few minutes the ſuperintendant herſelf came; brother Thomas introduced her to us, and accompanied by them both we viſited the different apartments.

The houſe is extenſive, and the paſſages and ſtair-caſes are commodious and airy, but the work rooms are ſmall, and to ſuch a pitch were they heated by ſtoves, that on entering into them at firſt we could ſcarcely breathe. The ſtoves, which they uſe, are built in the German ſtyle. The fire is incloſed in a large box or caſe formed of glazed tiles, and the warm air is thence conducted, through flues, into ſimilar large caſes placed in different parts of the room, by which means every part is rendered equally warm. About a dozen females or more, nearly of the ſame age, were ſeated at work in each apartment. The entrance of ſtrangers did not interrupt them in the leaſt; they went on with their work, and except the inſpectreſs, who never failed politely to riſe and ſpeak to us, they did not even ſeem to take any notice of our being in the room.

The dreſs of the ſiſterhood, though not quite uniform, is very nearly ſo. They wear plain calico, linen, or ſtuff gowns, with aprons, and cloſe tight linen caps, made with a peak in front, and tied under the chin with a piece of riband. Pink ribands are ſaid to be worn as a badge by thoſe who are inclined to marry; however, I obſerved that all the unmarried women wore them, not excepting thoſe whoſe age and features ſeemed to have excluded them from every chance of becoming the votaries of Hymen.

The

The dormitory of the female houſe is a very ſpacious apartment in the upper ſtory, which is aired by a large ventilator in the ceiling. It contains about fifty boarded beds without teſters, each calculated to hold one perſon. They ſleep here during winter time in the German ſtyle, between two feather beds, to which the ſheets and blankets are ſtitched faſt; in ſummer time the heat is too great here to admit even of a ſingle blanket.

After having gone through the different apartments of the female houſe, we were conducted by the ſuperintendant into a ſort of ſhop, where different little articles of fancy work, manufactured by the ſiſterhood, are laid out to the beſt advantage. It is always expected that ſtrangers viſiting the houſe will lay out ſome trifling ſum here; and this is the only reward which any member of the ſociety expects for the trouble of conducting a ſtranger throughout every part of the town.

The houſe of the ſiſterhood exhibits a picture of the utmoſt neatneſs and regularity, as do likewiſe the young men's and the widows houſes; and indeed the ſame may be ſaid of every private houſe throughout the town. The mills, brewery, &c. which are built on the moſt approved plans, are alſo kept in the very neateſt order.

Brother Thomas, after having ſhewn us the different public buildings and works, next introduced us into the houſes of ſeveral of the married men, that were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their ingenuity, and in ſome of them, particularly at the houſe of a cabinet maker, we were entertained with very curious pieces of workmanſhip. This cabinet maker brought us a book of Indian ink and tinted drawings, his own performances, which would have been a credit to a perſon in his ſituation in any part of the world.

The manufactures in general carried on at Bethlehem conſiſt of woollen and linen cloths, hats, cotton and worſted caps and ſtockings, gloves, ſhoes, carpenters, cabinet makers, and turners work, clocks, and a few other articles of hardware, &c. &c.

The church is a plain building of ſtone, adorned with pictures from ſacred hiſtory. It is furniſhed with a tolerable organ, as likewiſe are the chapels of the young men's and young women's houſes; they accompany

pany their hymns, beſides, with violoncellos, violins, flutes, &c. The whole ſociety attends the church on a Sunday, and when any one of the ſociety dies, all the remaining members attend his funeral, which is conducted with great ſolemnity, though with little pomp: they never go into mourning for their departed friends.

Every houſe in the town is ſupplied with an abundance of excellent water from a ſpring, which is forced through pipes by means of an hydraulic machine worked by water, and which is ſituated on the banks of the creek. Some of the houſes are ſupplied with water in every room. The machine is very ſimple, and would eaſily raiſe the water of the ſpring, if neceſſary, ſeveral hundred feet.

The ſpring from whence the houſes are ſupplied with water ſtands nearly in the center of the town, and over it, a large ſtone houſe with very thick walls, is erected. Houſes like this are very common in America; they are called ſpring houſes and are built for the purpoſe of preſerving meat, milk, butter, &c. during the heats of ſummer. This ſpring houſe in Bethlehem is common to the whole town; a ſhelf or board in it is allotted to each family, and though there is no watch placed over it, and the door be only ſecured by a latch, yet every perſon is certain of finding, when he comes for it, his plate of butter or bowl of milk, &c. exactly in the ſame ſtate as when he put it in.

The Moravians ſtudy to render their conduct ſtrictly conformable to the principles of the Chriſtian religion; but very different notions, notwithſtanding, are, and, no doubt, will be entertained reſpecting ſome of their tenets. Every unprejudiced perſon, however, that has viſited their ſettlements muſt acknowledge, that their moral conduct is truly excellent, and is ſuch as would, if generally adopted, make men happy in the extreme. They live together like members of one large family; the moſt perfect harmony ſubſiſts between them, and they ſeem to have but one wiſh at heart, the propagation of the goſpel, and the good of mankind. They are in general of a grave turn of mind; but nothing of that ſtiffneſs, or of that affected ſingularity, or pride, as I will call it, prevalent amongſt the Quakers, is obſervable in their manners. Wherever their ſociety has extended itſelf in America, the moſt happy

conſequences

conſequences have reſulted from it; good order and regularity have become conſpicuous in the behaviour of the people of the neighbourhood, and arts and manufactures have been introduced into the country.

As the whole of the plot of ground, on which Bethlehem ſtands, belongs to the ſociety, as well as the lands for a conſiderable way round the town, the Moravians here are not liable to be troubled by intruders, but any perſon that will conform to their line of conduct will be received into their ſociety with readineſs and cordiality. They appeared to take the greateſt delight in ſhewing us their town, and every thing belonging to it, and at parting lamented much that we could not ſtay longer with them, to ſee ſtill more of the manners and habits of the ſociety.

They do not ſeem deſirous of adding to the number of houſes in Bethlehem; but whenever there is an increaſe of people, they ſend them off to another part of the country, there to form a new ſettlement. Since Bethlehem was founded, they have eſtabliſhed two other towns in Pennſylvania, Nazareth and Letitz. The former of theſe ſtands at the diſtance of about ten miles from Bethlehem, and in coming down from the Blue Mountains you paſs through it; it is about half the ſize of Bethlehem, and built much on the ſame plan. Letitz is ſituated at a diſtance of about ten miles from Lancaſter.

The country for many miles round Bethlehem is moſt pleaſingly diverſified with riſing grounds; the ſoil is rich, and better cultivated than any part of America I before ſaw. Until within a few years paſt this neighbourhood has been diſtinguiſhed for the ſalubrity of its climate, but fevers, chiefly bilious and intermittent, have increaſed to a very great degree of late, and, indeed, not only here, but in many other parts of Pennſylvania, which have been long ſettled. During the laſt autumn, more people ſuffered from ſickneſs in the well cultivated parts of the country than had ever been remembered. Various reaſons have been aſſigned for this increaſe of fevers in Pennſylvania, but it appears moſt probably to be owing to the unequal quantities of rain that have fallen of late years, and to the unprecedented mildneſs of the winters.

Bethlehem is viſited during ſummer time by great numbers of people from the neighbouring large towns, who are led thither by curioſity or pleaſure; and regularly, twice a week throughout the year, a public ſtage waggon runs between it and Philadelphia. We engaged this carriage to ourſelves, and early on the ſecond day from that on which we quitted Bethlehem, reached the capital, after an abſence of, ſomewhat more than, five months.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Leave Philadelphia.—Arrive at New York.—Viſit Long Iſland.—Dreadful havoc by the Yellow Fever.—Dutch Inhabitants ſuſpicious of Strangers.—Excellent Farmers.—Number of Inhabitants.—Culture of Corn.—Immenſe Quantities of Grouſe and Deer.—Laws to protect them.—Increaſe of the ſame.—Decreaſe of Beavers.—New York agreeable to Strangers.—Concluſion.

MY DEAR SIR, New York, January 1797.

AFTER having remained a few days at Philadelphia, in order to arrange ſome matters preparatory to my taking a final leave of that city, I ſet out once more for New York. The month of December had now arrived; conſiderable quantities of ſnow had fallen; and the keen winds from the north-weſt had already ſpread a thick cruſt of ice over the Delaware, whoſe majeſtic ſtream is always the laſt in this part of the country to feel the chilly touch of the hand of winter. The ice however, was not yet ſtrong enough to ſuſtain the weight of a ſtage carriage, neither was it very readily to be broken; ſo that when we reached the falls of the river, where it is uſual to croſs in going from Philadelphia to New York, we had to remain for upwards of two hours, ſhivering before the bitter blaſts, until a paſſage was opened for the boat, which was to convey us and our vehicle to the oppoſite ſide. The croſſing of the Delaware at this place with a wheel carriage, even when the river is frozen over and the ice ſufficiently thick to bear, is generally a matter of conſiderable inconvenience and trouble to travellers, owing to the large irregular maſſes of ice formed there, when the froſt firſt ſets in, by the impetuoſity of the current, which breaking away the ſlender flakes of ice from the edges of the banks, gradually drifts them up in layers over each other; it is only at this rugged part, that a wheel carriage can ſafely paſs down the banks of the river.

When the ground is covered with ſnow, a ſleigh or ſledge is by far the moſt commodious ſort of carriage to travel in, as neither it nor the

paſſengers it contains are liable to receive any injury whatſoever from an overturn, and as, added to this, you may proceed much faſter and eaſier in it than in a carriage on wheels; having ſaid then that there was ſnow on the ground, it will perhaps be a ſubject of wonder to you, that we had not one of theſe ſafe and agreeable carriages to take us to New York; if ſo, I muſt inform you, that no experienced traveller in the middle ſtates ſets out on a long journey in a ſleigh at the commencement of winter, as unexpected thaws at this period now take place very commonly, and ſo rapid are they, that in the courſe of one morning the ſnow ſometimes entirely diſappears; a ſerious object of conſideration in this country, where, if you happen to be left in the lurch with your ſleigh, other carriages are not to be had at a moment's warning. In the preſent inſtance, notwithſtanding the intenſe ſeverity of the cold, and the appearances there were of its long continuance, yet I had not been eight and forty hours at New York when every veſtige of froſt was gone, and the air became as mild as in the month of September.

This ſudden change in the weather afforded me an opportunity of ſeeing, to much greater advantage than might have been expected at this ſeaſon of the year, parts of New York and Long Iſlands, which the ſhortneſs of my ſtay in this neighbourhood had not permitted me to viſit in the ſummer. After leaving the immediate vicinage of the city, which ſtands at the ſouthern extremity of the former of theſe two iſlands, but little is to be met with that deſerves attention; the ſoil, indeed, is fertile, and the face of the country is not unpleaſingly diverſified with riſing grounds; but there is nothing grand in any of the views which it affords, nor did I obſerve one of the numerous ſeats, with which it is overſpread, that was diſtinguiſhed either for its elegant neatneſs or the delightfulneſs of its ſituation; none of them will bear any compariſon with the charming little villas which adorn the banks of the Schuylkill near Philadelphia.

On Long Iſland much more will be found, in a pictureſque point of view, to intereſt the traveller. On the weſtern ſide, in particular, bordering upon the Narrows, or that contracted channel between the iſlands,

iſlands, through which veſſels paſs in ſailing to New York from the Atlantic, the country is really romantic. The ground here is very much broken, and numberleſs large maſſes of wood ſtill remain ſtanding, through the viſtas in which you occaſionally catch the moſt delightful proſpects of the diſtant hills on Staten Iſland and the New Jerſey ſhore, and of the water, which is conſtantly enlivened by veſſels ſailing to and fro.

To an inhabitant of one of the large towns on the coaſt of America, a country houſe is not merely deſirable as a place of retirement from noiſe and buſtle, where the owner may indulge his fancy in the contemplation of rural ſcenes, at a ſeaſon when nature is attired in her moſt pleaſing garb, but alſo as a ſafe retreat from the dreadful maladies which of late years have never failed to rage with more or leſs virulence in theſe places during certain months. When at Philadelphia the yellow fever committed ſuch dreadful havoc, ſparing neither the rich nor the poor, the young nor the aged, who had the confidence to remain in the city, or were unable to quit it, ſcarcely a ſingle inſtance occurred of any one of thoſe falling a victim to its baneful influence, who lived but one mile removed from town, where was a free circulation of air, and who at the ſame time ſtudiouſly avoided all communication with the ſick, or with thoſe who had viſited them; every perſon therefore at Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, &c. who is ſufficiently wealthy to afford it, has his country habitation in the neighbourhood of theſe reſpective places, to which he may retire in the hot unhealthy ſeaſon of the year; but this delightful part of Long Iſland, of which I have been ſpeaking, though it affords ſuch a number of charming ſituations for little villas, is unfortunately too far removed from New York to be a convenient place of retreat to men ſo deeply engaged in commercial purſuits as are the greater number of the inhabitants of that city, and it remains almoſt deſtitute of houſes; whilſt another part of the iſland, more conveniently ſituated, is crowded with them, although the face of the country is here flat and ſandy, devoid of trees, and wholly unintereſting.

The

The permanent reſidents on Long Iſland are chiefly of Dutch extraction, and they ſeem to have inherited all the coldneſs, reſerve, and covetouſneſs of their anceſtors. It is a common ſaying in New York, that a Long Iſland man will conceal himſelf in his houſe on the approach of a ſtranger; and really the numberleſs inſtances of ſhyneſs I met with in the inhabitants ſeemed to argue, that there was ſome truth in the remark. If you do but aſk any ſimple queſtion relative to the neighbouring country, they will eye you with ſuſpicion, and evidently ſtrive to diſengage themſelves from you; widely different from the Anglo-Americans, whoſe inquiſitiveneſs in ſimilar circumſtances would lead them to a thouſand impertinent and troubleſome enquiries, in order to diſcover what your buſineſs was in that place, and how they could poſſibly take any advantage of it. Theſe Dutchmen are in general very excellent farmers; and ſeveral of them have very extenſive tracks of land under cultivation, for the produce of which there is a convenient and ready market at New York. Amongſt them are to be found many very wealthy men; but except a few individuals, they live in a mean, penurious, and moſt uncomfortable manner. The population of the iſland is eſtimated at about thirty-ſeven thouſand ſouls, of which number near five thouſand are ſlaves. It is the weſtern part of the iſland which is the beſt inhabited; a circumſtance to be aſcribed, not ſo much to the fertility of the ſoil as its contiguity to the city of New York. Here are ſeveral conſiderable towns, as, Flatbuſh, Jamaica, Brooklynn, Fluſhing, Utrecht; the three firſt-mentioned of which contain each upwards of one hundred houſes. Brooklynn, the largeſt of them, is ſituated juſt oppoſite to New York, on the bank of the Eaſt River, and forms an agreeable object from the city.

The ſoil of Long Iſland is well adapted to the culture of ſmall grain and Indian corn; and the northern part, which is hilly, is ſaid to be peculiarly favourable to the production of fruit. The celebrated Newtown pippin, though now to be met with in almoſt every part of the ſtate of New York, and good in its kind, is yet ſuppoſed by many perſons to attain a higher flavour here than in any other part of America.

Of

Of the peculiar ſoil of the plains that are ſituated towards the center of this iſland, I have before had occaſion to ſpeak, when deſcribing thoſe in the weſtern parts of the ſtate of New York. One plain here, ſomewhat different from the reſt, is profuſely covered with ſtunted oaks and pines; but no grain will grow upon it, though it has been cleared, and experiments have been made for that purpoſe in many different places. This one goes under the appellation of Bruſhy Plain. Immenſe quantities of grouſe and deer are found amidſt the bruſhwood, with which it is covered, and which is ſo well calculated to afford ſhelter to theſe animals. Laws have been paſſed, not long ſince, to prevent the wanton deſtruction of the deer; in conſequence of which they are beginning to increaſe moſt rapidly, notwithſtanding ſuch great numbers are annually killed, as well for the New York market, as for the ſupport of the inhabitants of the iſland; indeed it is found that they are now increaſing in moſt of the ſettled parts of the ſtates of New York, where there is ſufficient wood to harbour them; whereas in the Indian territories, the deer, as well as moſt other wild animals, are becoming ſcarcer every year, notwithſtanding that the number of Indian hunters is alſo decreaſing; but theſe people purſue the ſame deſtructive ſyſtem of hunting, formerly practiſed on Long Iſland, killing every animal they meet, whether young or full grown. Notwithſtanding the ſtrong injunctions laid upon them by the Canadian traders, to ſpare ſome few beavers at each dam, in order to perpetuate the breed, they ſtill continue to kill theſe animals wherever they find them, ſo that they are now entirely baniſhed from places which uſed to abound with, and which are ſtill in a ſtate to harbour them, being far removed from the cultivated parts of the country. An annual deficiency of fifteen thouſand has been obſerved in the number of beaver ſkins brought down to Montreal, for the laſt few years.

From Long Iſland I returned to this city; which the hoſpitality and friendly civilities I have experienced, in common with other ſtrangers, from its inhabitants, induce me to rank as the moſt agreeable place I have viſited in the United States: nor am I ſingular in this opinion, there being ſcarcely any traveller I have converſed with, but what gives

it

it the ſame preference. Whilſt I continue in America it ſhall be my place of reſidence: but my thoughts are ſolely bent upon returning to my native land, now dearer to me than ever; and provided that the ice, which threatens at preſent to block up the harbour, does not cut off our communication with the Atlantic, I ſhall ſpeedily take my departure from this continent, well pleaſed at having ſeen as much of it as I have done; but I ſhall leave it without a ſigh, and without entertaining the ſlighteſt wiſh to reviſit it.

FINIS.

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